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CONTENTS

8 APRIL 1988

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Mistakes, Shortcomings of Party Leadership Noted at Kazakh Obkom Plenums	1
Semipalatinsk Oblast [L. Reznikov, D. Seysenov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 12 Jan 88]	1
Dzhambul Oblast [K. Zhumatayev, A. Kozlov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 13 Jan 88]	2
North Kazakhstan Oblast	
[V. Pleshakov, A. Rotmirovskiy; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 13 Jan 88]	3
Mangyshlak Oblast	
[G. Groyser, M. Sukhamberdiyev; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 19 Jan 88]	4
Chimkent Oblast [Yu. Livinskiy, A. Zholdasbekov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 Jan 88]	6
Kustanay Oblast [A. Maslennikov, V. Salnik; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 Jan 88]	8
Kokchetav Oblast [P. Kapitonov, A. Rotmistrovskiy; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 Jan 88] ...	9
Turgay Oblast [S. Shukirov, I. Yavorovskiy; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 Jan 88]	10
Karaganda Oblast [V. Golovanov, R. Suleymenov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 Jan 88]	11
Dzhezkazgan Oblast	
[U. Zhapparkhanov, V. Mogilnitskiy; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 26 Jan 88]	13
Cadre Issues, Agroprom Discussed at Kazakh Obkom Plenums	14
Uralsk Oblast [V. Yermolin and K. Nauryzbayev; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 20 Jan 88]	14
East Kazakhstan Oblast [M. Abugaliyev, A. Akava; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 20 Jan 88]	16
BSSR Gomel Obkom Notes Concerns Over Private Housing, Other Issues	
[A. Gotovchkin, S. Sverkunov; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 20 Jan 88]	17
Tashkent Communists Deny That Party Attestation Means Purge	
[M. Sudbakasov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 20 Feb 88]	20
UkSSR SupSov Committees Examine Use of Agricultural Chemicals in Republic	22

MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Reforms, Qualitative Improvements Urged for Media Coverage of CEMA Nations	
[A. Shikarev; ZHURNALIST, No 1, Jan 88]	23

HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

Officials Chart Restructuring Course for CPSU History Studies, Institute Role	
[F.N. Smykov; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS No 1, Jan 88]	27
Unpublished Manuscript Reveals Admiral Isakov's Views of Stalin, Beria	
[L. Gurunts; KOMMUNIST, 21 Jan 88]	42

RELIGION

Kiev, Moscow Announce Plans for Upcoming Millennium Celebrations	
[V. Belikov, S. Tsikora; IZVESTIYA, 1 Jan 88]	46
Laws Uphold Parent's Right to Allow Child Religious Upbringing	
[A. Buchasov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 26 Feb 88]	47
Restoration of Cultural Monuments Carried Out at Feverish Pace in Kiev	
[S. Tsikora; IZVESTIYA, 21 Mar 88]	48
Renewed Conservatism Results In Brutality Toward Turkmen Women	
[N. Kuliyeu; SELSKAYA ZHIZN, 2 Mar 88]	49
Old Believers Bear Brunt of Excessively Heavy Taxes	51
Effect of Iranian Broadcasts on Turkmen Muslims Highlighted	51

CULTURE

Banned Film Exposes Misguided Agricultural Policy in Virgin Lands	
[I. Malishevskiy; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 27 Feb 88]	52

Young Authors Explore 'Blank Spots' of Soviet Literature [N. Ivanova; MOSCOW NEWS, 28 Feb-6 Mar 88]	55
Weekly Describes Mandelshtam's Arrest, Rehabilitation [L. Ozerov; MOSCOW NEWS, 28 Feb-6 Mar 88]	56

SOCIAL ISSUES

MVD CID Chief Interviewed on Patterns of Drug Abuse [A. Illesh, Ye. Shestinskiy; IZVESTIYA, 29 Feb 88]	59
Employment for Released Prisoners Becoming Urgent Problem [V. Mamontov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 16 Feb 88]	61
Komsomol Journal Opens Discussion on Law on Youth [MOLODOY KOMMUNIST No 2, Feb 88 pp 3-14]	63
Komsomol Membership Shrinks; Many Members Indifferent [V. Lukov, G. Inozemtseva; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 13 Feb 88]	65
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Urges Open Discussion of Law on Access to State Archives [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 16 Mar 88 p 2]	67
TaSSR Republic Meeting on Serious Problems in Vocational Education [TadzhikTA; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 5 Mar 88 p 3]	68
Illegal Foreign Videos Impact Negatively on Youth	68

REGIONAL ISSUES

Ethnic Azerbaijanis Reported Returning to Homes, Jobs in Armenia [ARMENPRESS; KOMSOMOLETS, 8 Mar 88 p 3]	69
Estonian MVD Minister on Demonstrations, Stalin Victims [M. Tibar; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 31 Jan 88]	69

Mistakes, Shortcomings of Party Leadership Noted at Kazakh Obkom Plenums

Semipalatinsk Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by L. Reznikov, staff correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, and D. Seysenov, staff correspondent of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN, Semipalatinsk: "So as To Go Further"]

[Excerpts] The report contained not even a hint of contentment and complacency. Although in fact there have been changes for the better in the development of all sectors of the economy, they were referred to very briefly. We will enumerate only the most significant results. Commodity output in 1987 increased 5.3 percent instead of the planned 3.9 percent. The rise of labor productivity was 2.5 percent. The planned sales of grain, meat, and milk to the state were overfulfilled. Farms received about 55 million rubles in profit.

Beginning this year 34 industrial enterprises in the oblast as well as all enterprises in construction, transportation, communications, and the service sector made the transition to self-financing and self-support. The transition to the new conditions requires that the bureau of the party obkom and sectoral departments take specific purposive action to augment people's work effort and civic activity and give them assistance in acquiring a knowledge of economics. But this effort, as noted at the plenum, is not being made everywhere by any means. Perhaps this is why one out of every five enterprises is not fulfilling contractual obligations, there are large losses of worktime, and renewal of worn-out and obsolescent equipment is going slowly.

The work of every member of the obkom buro was assessed in the report from a position of high exactingness. K. Boztayev was self-critical in acknowledging that he should have been more persistent in mastering the contemporary style of leadership, in providing better coordination among the bureau members, the secretariat, and the departments of the party obkom, and in showing more concern about the effectiveness of the decisions made. To be sure, none of those who spoke afterward expressed criticism of the style and work methods of the first secretary. But the members of the bureau had occasion to listen to what is referred to as impartial criticism directed toward them.

It was said of V. Pavlovich, obkom secretary, who is responsible for affairs of industry, transportation, and communications, and for trade services and consumer services, that the command method of leadership and the desire to avoid solving a number of problems which have come to a head are characteristic of him. Rarely going out into the field, he limits himself to setting tasks over the telephone.

No one will cast doubt on the competence of N. Sembayev, obkom secretary for agriculture. But in the flow of everyday affairs he quite often loses sight of the questions of selection, assignment, and development of personnel. Superficiality in studying the businesslike, moral, and political qualities and organizational abilities of candidates for promotion has resulted in frequent replacement of sovkhos director and kolkhoz chairmen. Over the last 7 years there has been an almost complete change of the individuals holding those positions. Of course, A. Lomtev, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, shares responsibility for this with the secretary of the party obkom. He is called upon to direct the efforts of specialists not toward collecting various kinds of data, but toward rendering specific help at the local level.

A. Yeremenko, buro member and chairman of the obispolkom, was criticized for being lax with his deputies as to results in the areas of work delegated to them.

There was criticism directed toward the members of the buro not only from the lips of the speaker presenting the report, but also from those who took part in the discussion. Some, to be sure, such as the first secretaries of the Novoshulbinskiy and Charskiy Party Raykoms, A. Rybchenkov and M. Zakirov, respectively, were bold and businesslike in their criticism and made no allowances for the position held by those whom they criticized. But the speeches of the others contained only fond hopes that the buro members would show more persistence, would not take the place of business executives in the economy, and would give preference to political methods of leadership.... D. Sultanov, first secretary of the Taskeskenskiy Rayon Party Committee, responded very strangely to the appeal of the speaker delivering the report that the discussion continue in a spirit of exactingness and be consistent with party spirit and principle. Knowing that he would be given the floor, he went to the speaker's platform with a text prepared in advance that was like a self-evaluation. The speaker became so engrossed in enumerating the successes achieved that he did not notice that he had exceeded the time limit. In the 17 minutes which he spent at the rostrum he thus did not even manage to analyze the work of the buro or of any of its members in particular. And if D. Sultanov did utter any criticism, it was usually in the form of generalities. Nor did he have the boldness to recognize his own oversights. Yet quite recently in a plenum of the party raykom the buro and the first secretary were personally the target of sharp, but fair words about how they had stood aloof from dealing with vitally important matters and had weakened the guidance of restructuring.

There is no doubt that the first stage of restructuring has for most leaders at all levels been a test of their businesslike attitude, party maturity, and ability to make decisions on their own. At the same time, it was surprising that one request after the other was made from the rostrum for help in some particular matter.

There was a serious discussion in the plenum about oversights in personnel policy. It is no accident that over the last 2 years almost one-third of personnel on the obkom's roster have been replaced. It is time, it was said at the plenum, to take a position based on principle concerning those leaders who have occupied responsible posts for a long time, but have given no evidence at all of their worth.

It is regrettable that nothing was said in the plenum about how rank-and-file members of the elected aktiv have been coping with their duties. Have they been taking part in preparing questions for the plenums and the meetings of buros, have they always known what the party committee is concerned with?

Thus the old approaches and formalism are still cropping up. For instance, the microphone set up in the auditorium proved to be only tribute paid to fashion, since in actuality no one took advantage of it.

Only by removing all the interference and by opening up room for initiative and creativity will the party committees and primary organizations be able to undertake with vigor a further upsurge of the economy and development of the social sphere. The buro of the party's obkom, which was given a mandate of competence by its elected aktiv, is called upon to set the tone in this effort.

N.A. Nazarbayev, member of the buro of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum.

An organizational question was taken up in the plenum. The plenum relieved P.V. Savelyev, second secretary and member of the party obkom buro, of his duties in connection with his retirement. A.P. Yevdokov, who has worked as deputy chief of the department for construction and municipal services and utilities of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, was elected second secretary and member of the obkom buro.

V.V. Ilyushin, responsible official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

Dzhambul Oblast

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in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by K. Zhumatayev and A. Kozlov, KazTAG:
"The Road of Renewal Is Not Simple"]

[Excerpts] Protectionism, graft, and malfeasance became widespread during the period of stagnation in the oblast. All of this has made decisive measures to remedy the situation necessary. In 2 years, more than 60 party and soviet personnel who had compromised themselves and who had not handled their duties have been relieved of the positions they occupied. They included the chairman of the oblispolkom and six first secretaries of party

gorkoms and raykoms. Half of the staff of the obkom and oblispolkom has been replaced, and significant personnel changes have taken place in party committees at the lower level.

The first secretaries of the Karatauskiy and Saryuskiy Rayon Party Committees and more than 20 top directors of industrial enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been selected on a competitive basis. Election of the supervisors of all units has become established practice in the collectives of the Novyy Dzhambul Phosphorus Plant and the association "Khimprom."

But in the oblast as a whole the system of democratic selection of personnel is still not altogether in place. As shown by the reports of party committees and buros, a substantial portion of the elected aktiv is not thoroughly aware of its greater responsibility under the new conditions and is working in the old way. The evaluation "does not meet the requirements of restructuring" has been given to more than 100 members of party committees and buros. In order to reinforce the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude toward shortcomings and cases of stagnation, every member of the obkom has been assigned one primary or shop party organization. But on the whole, this assignment has not been carried out as it should have been. Some obkom members have not even visited the party organizations assigned to them.

Serious shortcomings were also mentioned in the way follow-up is organized. A special follow-up day has been set aside in party bodies, but this procedure is not being observed. There is still technocracy in the activity of the obkom staff, especially in the sector departments. Their instructors have little influence on the work of primary party organizations, overloaded as they are with collecting data of various kinds. Quite often this is done on instructions from departments of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee.

The content of party work in the present period, it was said at the plenum, is largely determined by tasks related to improvement of the economic mechanism. The financial conditions of enterprises is causing serious concern. Last year their accounts payable amounted to about 45 billion rubles. One out of every eight enterprises in industry and one out of every five in construction did not fulfill profit plans. In the context of the radical economic reform this could have had consequences.

A number of fundamentally important tasks are not being fully carried out in the intensification of industrial production. Last year output under contract fell short 7 million rubles, 12 enterprises did not fulfill the plan for the rise of labor productivity, and 16 failed to fulfill the plan for reduction of production cost. The capacity for chemical production is not fully utilized. Conversion of enterprises to operation on more than one shift has not yielded the benefit it should have. The quality of the products produced is slow to improve. Year after year

the demand is not being met for consumer goods. They have to be brought in from other regions of the country, even goods which could be produced within the oblast. The ecological situation remains strained. T.T. Temirbekov, secretary of the party obkom, who is responsible for development of industry, transportation, and communications, has not achieved the requisite dynamism in their development. He has devoted too much time to drafting directive documents, yet he has been unable so far to organize effective follow-up on performance.

On the farms of Krasnogorskiy and Moyynkumskiy Rayons the average animal weight at the time of delivery is 12-13 percent lower than the oblast average. Smooth interaction of firms and the processing enterprises has not been organized. There are no animals on one out of every three homesteads. Not a single rayon fulfilled the targets for fattening and selling cattle and hogs under contract. Subsidiary operations are being conducted in a primitive way at many enterprises. Yu.A. Klochkov, second secretary of the party obkom, who is responsible for these matters, is doing a great deal, but often he interferes too much in the operational activity of the oblagroprom. Moreover, sight is sometimes lost of certain problems in the sector's development and in the shaping of new economic thinking. This is definitely related to shortcomings in the style and methods of activity of L.D. Remez, a member of the buro of the party obkom and chairman of the oblagroprom, who has not been as exacting as he should have been toward passive personnel, which was stated by Yu.D. Zaytsev, first secretary of the Dzhambulskiy Rayon Party Committee, and Sh. Mayanfu, link leader of the "Kommunisticheskii" Volkhoz.

The oblast's trade unions have not become as vigorous as they should have. The voice of A. Zhunisaliyev, chairman of the oblsobvprof and a candidate for membership in the buro, has rarely been heard in the meetings of the obkom buro. His temporizing position is also typical of the work of the entire oblast trade union council. A greater demand must be put on the oblast people's control committee, which is headed by A.N. Karnaukhov, a member of the buro of the party obkom. He has been showing little initiative. Nor has A.A. Isakov, secretary of the party obkom responsible for matters of ideology, had enough of it. M.I. Selskiy, member of the buro of the obkom who is a senior instrument adjuster in the association "Khimprom," said that the first secretary of the party obkom has sometimes concerned himself with economic matters to the detriment of party political work and indoctrination.

The plenum outlined measures to overcome the shortcomings and to increase the militance and initiative of party members in the struggle for restructuring, for accelerating the oblast's socioeconomic development, and for a worthy celebration of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

L.Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum. V.S. Nechiporenko, responsible official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

North Kazakhstan Oblast

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in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Pleshakov and A. Rotmistrovskiy, Kaz-TAG: "Steps Forward and Back"]

[Excerpts] Errors have been committed in personnel policy. Judgments concerning individual persons in positions of leadership solely according to information on dossiers have had the result that A.B. Kudasbayev, chairman of the Vozvyshenskiy Rayon Ispolkom, and T.K. Simambayev, second secretary of the Presnovskiy Rayon Party Committee, had to be removed because they had compromised themselves. In the agroindustrial complex, 29 directors and chief specialists quite recently appointed have been discharged. The obkom has been lax in its demand on individual leaders. The buro has heard the report of Sh.S. Smagulov, first secretary of the Dzhambulskiy Rayon Party Committee, and an impartial evaluation was made of his style and work methods and of those of the raykom as a whole. But no essential changes have taken place. There needs to be a detailed analysis of the causes of the serious slips in the activity of V.A. Savchenko, chairman of the oblagroprom, P.N. Demyanenko, chief of the Administration for Baked Goods, and M.G. Tanakulov, chief of the oblast Consumer Service Administration, who have been repeatedly criticized.

The main task and most crucial task confronting the oblast party organization is augmenting the production of agricultural products. There has been some progress here. Since the beginning of the 12th FYP, production of the products of cropping and animal husbandry has risen 14.5 percent over the average level of the 11th FYP. The average annual growth of production of grain and meat has been 17 percent, that of meat and eggs 11 percent, that of potatoes and wool 5 percent. There has been some improvement in the supply of food to the public. But the report and the speeches made by many participants in the plenum sounded a warranted alarm about the stability of development of cropping and animal husbandry. Progressive technology is not being introduced as it should be, and there are frequent violations of discipline and order. The oblast has not fulfilled the plans of the last 2 years for production and procurements of the products of cropping, and deliveries to the state were short more than 500,000 tons of grain, 21,000 tons of potatoes, and a great deal of vegetables. Three-fourths of the farms were short in delivery of grain, 1 out of every 3 was short in meat deliveries, and 19 farms were short in milk deliveries.

According to preliminary data, the enterprises of the agroprom ended 1987 with losses of 58 million rubles. Performance has been especially unsatisfactory by the farms of Mamlyutskiy, Presnovskiy, Tselinnyy, and Dzhambulskiy Rayons. Only Bishkulskiy Rayon fulfilled the plan for grain sales and ended the year with a profit of about 6 million rubles.

The buro of the obkom has done little for a radical change of direction in development of agriculture and especially animal husbandry. What is worse, with respect to a number of indicators there has been a drop from the position achieved earlier. Last year the plan for wool procurements was not fulfilled, milk procurements were less than in 1986, and there has been a drop in the number of young animals born and an increase in the number of animals culled from herds. The drop in production and sale to the state of the products of animal husbandry is having an effect on the quantity and quality of dairy and meat products reaching the shelves of the oblast's stores.

Full advantage is not being taken of the capabilities within rayons. Only two-thirds of peasant households are keeping dairy cows, half of the families do not have pigs, and not many workers and employees are becoming involved in fattening livestock under contract with farms. All of these shortcomings have been referred to repeatedly in plenums, buro sessions, and meetings of the secretariat of the obkom, but as a rule the requisite measures have not been taken to deal with leaders who have not shown initiative and who have been idle.

There was sharp criticism of the system of higher and secondary education in the oblast. Restructuring has not yet reached general schools and vocational schools, VUZ's and tekhnikums. In 1 year 84 directors of educational institutions have been replaced, there is a shortage of teachers in schools, and this at a time when the oldest pedagogical institute in the republic is carrying on its activity in Petropavlovsk.

Serious shortcomings were mentioned in consumer services to the public. Last year's plan was not fulfilled by 97 out of 150 rural pick-up stations. Their operation is limited to several of the simplest types of services offered to the population, and in addition rural areas lag greatly behind the city with respect to the most important of them.

The oblast has achieved success in housing construction. The annual plan was fulfilled in 10 months. In 2 years housing conditions have been improved for more than 10,000 families, or 22.5 percent of those who have been waiting. But many of those who spoke did not conceal that results of this kind were achieved by reducing the quality of housing. That is why particular concern was aroused by the decision to place housing construction in Petropavlovsk under state acceptance. Even the first trial

attempt to meet its requirements showed that the builders are not ready for its introduction. The industrial capability is lagging behind considerably, and the quality of materials reaching construction sites do not withstand any criticism at all.

Restructuring is impossible without a revolutionary approach to the ideological effort and to the development of culture, it was emphasized at the plenum. However, the speaker who read the report did not pay proper attention to this. He was corrected by G.M. Bubnov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee, T.S. Fomenko, milkmaid of the "Vozvyshenskiy" Sovkhoz, V.D. Zenchenko, chairman of the oblsoprof, A.S. Omarov, machine operator on the "Dmitriyevskiy" Sovkhoz, and others. They spoke about the unsatisfactory activity of cultural and athletic complexes. There is little construction of clubs, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and stadiums, especially in rural areas. A substantial portion of cultural institutions do not have qualified personnel, and very frequently they are closed even on weekends. Every year many culture centers and gymnasiums prove not to be ready for winter.

Party education and especially economics education are frequently conducted on a low level. The upbringing of adolescents has also been poorly organized.

Unfortunately, a majority of those who spoke took the line of self-appraisals and requests and did not provide accurate appraisals of the work of the obkom and its buro, naming names. But essential criticism was expressed about the style and work methods of V.T. Stepanov, obkom first secretary. There was criticism of the command-and-pressure method of leadership on the part of obkom secretaries T.K. Shandrov and V.S. Khmara, A.Ye. Lipovyy, first secretary of the Petropavlovsk Party Gorkom, and B.M. Tursumbayev, chairman of the oblispolkom, and his deputies.

The organizational question was taken up. Sh.K. Kulmakhanov was elected second secretary of the party obkom.

I.V. Tsvetkov, chief of the agriculture and food industry department of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, spoke in the plenum. G.V. Baranov, responsible official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

Mangyshlak Oblast

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[Article by G. Groyser and M. Sukhamberdiyev, Kaz-TAG: "Checking the Pace More Strictly"]

[Excerpts] But behind indicators that are satisfactory compared to previous periods there is the failure to fulfill the product sales plan adjusted for contractual obligations and the targets for deep drilling. Behind that in

turn is the lag in developing the Kalamkas, Karazhanbas, and Zhetybay deposits. Because of the delay in building the system of high-pressure gas pipelines only one-fifth of the capacity of the new gas lift compressor station is being utilized at the Kazakh Gas Refining Plant.

Yet there seems to be no sense of the party obkom and its buro having paid too little attention to these matters. In the report presented by Yu.G. Kazachenko, first secretary of the obkom of the Kazakhstan CP, frequent talks with the managers of lagging enterprises are even referred to as a new form of party influence on the economy. Several comprehensive programs were drafted. Finally, a council for promotion of scientific-technical progress has been organized in association with the obkom. It meets regularly, building up a record of its sessions, but the fight for new equipment and processes goes no further than appeals.

The party obkom has been unable to convince enterprise managers that the time has come for full accountability for the technical policy they conduct. Only certain plants have made real preparations for operation under the new economic conditions. Members of other collectives have rather muddled ideas about the foundations of cost-accounting relations, self-financing, and self-support. The party has not been monitoring as it should the introduction of processes that conserve resources, the operation of transportation and communications enterprises, and the production of consumer goods. They are producing products worth only 9 kopecks for every ruble of the wage fund! The only products for which there is a volume demand being made by the "Mangyshlakneft" Association, the largest on the peninsula, are the simplest articles for the household. This was spoken about with great concern by K.M. Agayeva, senior zoological technician of the Aktau Industrial-Type Poultry Farm, N.M. Bobrova, a teacher from Shevchenko, and others.

What is the trouble, why is poor use being made of the immense reserves in the peninsula's storehouses? Mangyshlak possesses unique capabilities for augmenting the production of wall materials, facing slabs, lime, asphalt, binders, and other materials. But except for coquina all others are being shipped out, although if natural resources were well-husbanded, the oblast could supply them both to itself and also to other regions. One of the reasons for the passivity of managers in the economy is that members of the buro and those who head the sectoral departments of the obkom frequently act not in the role of organizers, but observers.

The first secretaries: Ye.K. Kumiskaliyev of the Novouzensk Party Gorkom and S.B. Kerelbayev of the Mangistauskiy Rayon Party Committee—said that superior party officials rarely visit the peninsula's cities and rayons. Regular help as to organization and methods to remote party organizations is replaced by flying visits of various commissions.

Participants in the plenum addressed many complaints to N.A. Marabayev, chairman of the oblispolkom. Quite often, instead of severe exactingness toward managers in the economy and application of all the instruments of power granted the soviets, he concerns himself only with understandings and appeals, and then simply issues helpless complaints about negligent managers in the economy. In the past year only 40 percent of the fixed capital called for in the "title" of local soviets was activated. And although the program "Housing-91" was successfully fulfilled, activation of facilities for social, cultural, and consumer services is lagging behind as in the past. Shevchenko is a city that was once awarded the prize of the International Architects Union "For Humanization of the Environment," but now is only in 9th place among oblast centers in the republic with respect to the level of consumer services, in 17th place with respect to the number of hotels, and in last place with respect to the adequacy of sales floor area, hospitals, baths, and laundries. In a number of schools classes are conducted on four shifts.

Acknowledging the justice of the criticism directed toward him, N.A. Marabayev said that one of the factors hindering the work of local soviets is that party authorities frequently take over their functions. The obkom, for example, does not always deem it necessary to reach agreement with the oblispolkom in confirming key personnel, nor does it take its opinions into account on other important matters. A regulation needs to be drafted on the job duties of personnel of obkom departments.

There was serious criticism of M.K. Kasiyev, party obkom secretary responsible for the affairs of the agroindustrial complex. Over the past year fewer lambs, foals, and camels were born than in the previous year. There has been a substantial increase in the mortality of all types of livestock. The plan for delivery of agricultural products to the state is being fulfilled with great difficulty, and at the same time the private sector accounts for one-fourth of it. The consumer cooperative union would seem to have been working well. But at the same time rural cooperators have shown little concern for the business of seasonal trade, the setting up of shops for processing agricultural products, and the organization of food service in rural localities. Nor have there been fundamental changes in solving the animal feed problem. People in Mangyshlak are bringing in a third of their hay from other oblasts. But Kh.A. Akhtanov, member of the obkom buro and chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, has not been paying the attention to untapped local potential he should have. That includes the use of seawater and pretreated sewage to water sown grasses and to the fencing of pastures.

As for the restructuring of the work with personnel, the participants in the plenum noted that democratization and glasnost are becoming stronger. Over the past year work collectives have elected more than 700 managers in general assemblies. But this process has not been free of

the formal approach. At the "AvtoVAZ" service station the person elected from among 14 candidates to replace a director discharged for drunkenness was B. Saraliyev, who later was removed for the same reason.

In preparing to present an accounting the members of the obkom buro proposed to one another that they set forth in compressed form what they had specifically done toward restructuring. It was recommended that they evaluate their own work. Ye.F. Shurubtsov, a worker who is a member of the obkom buro, had something to say. After his fervent speech in an obkom plenum last year concerning losses of energy resources and water, this issue was taken up in a special session of the obkom buro. The management of the Mangyshlak Energy Combine then reported on its preparation for operation under the new economic conditions, and the situation began to straighten out.

But not all responsible party officials proved to be ready for a discussion based on principle. The ideological activity, for which party obkom secretary T.P. Dogadova is responsible, was subjected to serious criticism. In the words of those who took part in the discussion, she preferred to act not by persuasion, but by the methods of administrative pressure. This hampers the initiative of personnel.

Many of those who spoke criticized the first secretary of the party obkom Yu.G. Kazachenko. He should have relied more on the opinion of buro members, should have dealt in good time with personnel matters that had come to a head, and should have shown more exactingness, communicativeness, and accessibility.

The plenum outlined strategies for increasing the militance of party organizations and the targets which need to be achieved before the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

N.M. Yeronin, sector chief in the department for heavy industry and energy of the CPSU Central Committee, and K.K. Baykenov, deputy chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum.

S.K. Yerdenov, chief of the department for trade and consumer services of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

Chimkent Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by Yu. Livinskiy, staff correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, and A. Zholdasbekov, staff correspondent of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN: "Unmindful of Persons"]

[Excerpts] The report presented by K. Tyulebekov, first secretary of the obkom, noted that in the period since the congress a new style has begun to be worked out in the

buro's activity, a style based on implacability toward shortcomings, mutual exactingness, criticism, and self-criticism, and an orientation toward the end results.

But the participants in the plenum remarked: the obkom buro is still not making full use of its potential. Its actions lack purposefulness and persistence. For instance, the methods of the buro's work in guidance of industry have been lagging behind the demands of the time. Above all the sectoral departments have not been made as accountable as they should have been for the state of affairs at the local level. And it is far from radiant: there has been unsteadiness in growth rates, and disruptions in operation have not been uncommon. Last year alone industrial enterprises were short nearly 50 million rubles in making deliveries under contract. About a third of the enterprises did not fulfill the profit plan, and 43 are operating at a loss. Year after year the output-capital ratio has been dropping. The growth in the volume and assortment of consumer goods produced do not meet the requirements of the population.

Inhabitants of Chimkent are seriously concerned about the ecological situation in the city. The biggest air polluter is the Production Association "Fosfor." The report delivered by the party obkom's first secretary noted that in spite of repeated notices issued by inspectorates, the USSR Ministry for Fertilizer Production and All-Union Association "Soyuzfosfor" have not taken steps toward radical reduction of harmful emissions into the atmosphere. Cases have been observed once again.

Meanwhile, the party obkom itself adopted a decree 2 years ago on the work of party, soviet, and economic authorities in Chimkent to guarantee environmental protection, including protection at the association "Fosfor." But much of what was outlined has remained mere words on paper. There obviously was little point in blaming the ministry in the plenum; the proper thing was a self-critical evaluation of its own work in that direction.

The buro of the party obkom has relied little in its practical activity on the elected aktiv. Many members of the obkom do not speak in forums of party members, nor do they take part in working out collective decisions. Here is what T. Agabekov, machine operator on the Kolkhoz imeni A. Navoya in Leninskiy Rayon, said at the plenum:

"This is the third time I have been elected a member of the party obkom. This is a high trust placed by the oblast's party members. But in all that time I have not been given a single assignment to carry out. Even when they visit the rayon, the officials of the obkom do not deem it necessary to meet with me or involve me in their inspection or preparation of particular matters. No one is interested in how I am getting along and what I am doing as a member of the obkom. Exactly the same thing

can be heard from other rank-and-file members of the obkom. We are summoned to the plenum—we come, we are here, we vote, and we go away."

The issues of personnel policy are especially urgent for Chimkent Oblast. The unfavorable situation in this important matter, as is well known, was referred to at the 27th CPSU Congress. Quite a few steps have been taken in recent years to correct the personnel distortions of the stagnant period and to make the atmosphere wholesome. On the staff of the obkom alone 180 persons have been discharged from their positions for various abuses and violations. But there is no sense of a radical restructuring taking place in the work with personnel. Principal attention in connection with promotions is still being paid to the dossier, rather than to the person. A thorough study is not always made of the worker's businesslike, political, and moral qualities.

Following the removal of L. Bekzhanov, first secretary of the Chardarinskiy Rayon Party Committee, against whom criminal proceedings have now been instituted for serious abuses and graft on a particularly large scale, the obkom recommended O. Rakhmanberdiyev for this position. But he did not stay long in it and was discharged on unfavorable grounds. Last June the buro of the party obkom gave a reference for M. Anishchenko, chairman of the people's control committee, and he was promoted to that position even in the period of restructuring. But in 2 months he also had to be removed from that position.

Can it be said that the buro of the party obkom has taken a serious approach to the selection of key personnel? Of course not. A radical restructuring is needed first of all in work with the pool of personnel, the speakers said.

The participants in the plenum paid a great deal of attention to the development of the social welfare sphere. Here again there are a great many problems. There is evidence of this in the thousands of letters and direct appeals to party and soviet authorities. An undeniable picture was sketched by R. Abdraimov, first secretary of the Kyzylumskiy Rayon Party Committee: half of the brigades on remote pastures were forced to spend the winter in yurts and caravans; there are no roads, no electricity, no baths, and no drinking water. Many shepherds do not have homes in the central homesteads of sovkhozes, and retiring shepherds are forced to roam from one remote pasture to another with their sons and to live in yurts; in their old age they have neither peace nor rest. In short, the elementary conditions for everyday life have not been created for people there.

"And they take offense," R. Abdraimov said, "when you raise the subject of these problems, and they do not want to listen to you. For instance, A. Spatayev, former secretary of the party obkom and now deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, who incidentally is responsible for construction affairs in his new post as well, declared that

these problems were not soluble. He even reproached me for asking that help be given in obtaining bricks to erect little shepherd huts. O. Myrzabekov, chief of the construction department of the party obkom, attended the last plenum of the raykom and repeated the same thing: 'These problems have not been solved for decades, and you want them to be solved in a year or 2. Forget it, I myself grew up in a yurt.' And what did I have occasion to hear from A. Kuralov, deputy chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, when I presented a request to him that polyethylene film be allocated to insulate the yurts of the shepherds? He recommended that I take this question to the first secretary of the party obkom. Any comment, as they say, would be superfluous...."

In discussing the obkom's work style, the participants in the plenum evaluated the activity of each member of the buro. And the discussion touched not only on their ability and performance, but also on traits of character.

In the few months he has worked in the obkom as first secretary, K. Tyulebekov has, of course, still not been properly studied. Still it has been noted that at times he has not given proper guidance to the party, soviet, and economic aktiv in solving fundamental and long-range problems, he has not been exacting enough toward key personnel, on occasion he has avoided the issue, and he keeps many matters entirely to himself. Mention was made of his lack of restraint and leaning toward a command style.

G. Vasilyev, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee and buro member, probably had occasion to hear more criticism than anyone else. Here is just one excerpt typical of a number of speeches:

"This man is a literate specialist, someone who is knowledgeable and well-versed in agricultural economics, but in evaluating work at the local level he is not objective, he is biased, and sometimes he divides managers into those who are his favorites and those who are objectionable, and he does not solve the problems of improving matters on farms. He displays rudeness and haughtiness in talking to farm managers, and many of them no longer have a desire to turn to him for help."

This is what one of the speeches had to say about obkom secretary V. Shishatskiy:

"He has been working here in our oblast for a year now. He has had time to penetrate more deeply into the affairs of the sector, but still Shishatskiy is at times timid in his actions, and he does not have a good knowledge of personnel. The department of agriculture and the food industry which is his responsibility is bogged down in economic affairs, taking the place of the staff of the oblast agroindustrial committee and the regular administration, instead of providing party guidance."

S. Tereshchenko, member of the buro and chairman of the oblsipolkom, was criticized for quite often showing a weakness of character, for not being exacting enough toward his deputies, for not penetrating deeply into the problems of small settlements, and for not always being skillful in coordinating the actions of the branches under his jurisdiction and oblast organizations, especially on matters of developing social, cultural, and consumer services.

There was quite a bit of serious criticism directed toward other members of the buro. They were criticized without consideration for who they were or the positions they occupied, in a spirit of party principle and comradely exactingness.

A strict and frank discussion among party members must outline a substantial forward progress in restructuring and give it more momentum. It is important that everything that was outlined and verified in the plenum be effectively implemented.

S.K. Kubashev, second secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

The plenum took up the organizational question. M.S. Karbayev, who previously worked as deputy chairman of the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom, was elected secretary and member of the buro of the party obkom.

Kustanay Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by A. Maslennikov and V. Salnik, KazTAG: "Awaken Initiative"]

[Excerpts] Noting many constructive developments, V. Demidenko, first secretary of the party obkom, who delivered the report, and those who spoke in the discussion concentrated principal attention on analyzing the unsolved problems, errors, and shortcomings, and they enumerated specific ways of correcting them. Quite a few examples were given in which timely and correct decisions were taken on the most urgent problems of restructuring, but they were not always fully carried out by any means. These figures were given for the branches of industry. Only 1 percent of the output of plants and factories carries the Quality Emblem; only three enterprises fulfilled the plan for deliveries under contract. In a number of places the pace is slow in bringing newly installed equipment up to rated capacity. At one out of very four enterprises in Kustanay the growth rate of wages is higher than that of labor productivity. Oversights in the work of the obkom secretary K.M. Alpysbekov were also enumerated along with other reasons for these things.

There have been no essential shifts in agricultural production. The buro of the party obkom has regularly taken up the questions of developing the agroindustrial complex, and seminars have been held to study progressive know-how. But these efforts are still not yielding the benefit they should. Over the past year croppers have not fulfilled the plan for sale of grain to the state, although they had the capability. Nor is the intensively cultivated hectare giving a full yield as yet. Meanwhile the experience of the best collectives using intensive labor, such as the brigade of A. Shuler on the "Novonezhenskiy" Sovkhoz, offers convincing evidence that there is a great deal of untapped potential for increasing the yield. Why is that potential not being utilized by all croppers?

In the search for an answer to this question the speaker delivering the report and those who spoke in the discussion analyzed a number of cases. It turns out that the collective contract and full cost accounting have not made their way everywhere. Frequently their introduction is a formality. There are also defects in assimilation of intensive methods of raising grain crops and utilization of a soil conservation system for cultivation of the land. Animal husbandry is developing slowly, although certain constructive developments have been noted here. Plans for sale of the products of livestock farms to the state are being fulfilled successfully, and a larger supply of them has begun to arrive on store shelves. But if one goes deeper, it turns out that the growth of production of milk and meat has mainly been occurring not by virtue of a rise in the productivity of socialized livestock. Many sovkhozes and kolkhozes are not burdening themselves with the trouble of building a highly productive herd. They have shifted to fulfill the plans by making purchases of surpluses from individuals. And on the farms the average annual milk production per dairy cow on feed barely exceeds 2,000 kg, and the weight gain is also low. Oversights have been evident in organization of animal feed resources and the technological level of milk and meat production is low.

Indeed, the economic indicators of sovkhozes and kolkhozes as a whole are still low even though they have made the conversion to self-support and self-financing. It is sufficient to say that almost 100 farms ended the year with losses. Members of the party obkom buro, it was noted at the plenum, have not managed to overcome the gap here between words and deeds. The results achieved in development of agricultural production in the second year of the 5-year planning period have turned out to be far more modest than what was outlined.

To a large extent this can be explained by the fact that the party obkom has still not really mastered the methods of political guidance of the collectives in the sector. They are the responsibility of obkom second secretary V.I. Dvurechenskiy. He has become used to many shortcomings and has been restricting the independence of managers in the economy.

"The result of this," said first secretary of the Ubagsan-kiy Rayon Party Committee V.P. Ishchenko, "is that our croppers cannot decide themselves what to plant, beets or rutabagas, corn for silage or barley grown with a single dressing."

Much was said at the plenum about the resilience of administrative methods of leadership. The alarm of its participants is well-founded.

"I often wonder," said V.P. Demidenko, first secretary of the party obkom, "whether I am doing the right thing when I undertake to decide purely economic matters. Of course, in the transitional period of restructuring administrative methods will still coexist for a time with economic methods, but it is necessary that the former not stifle the latter."

There has come to be more glasnost and democracy in the work with personnel. Primary party organizations and work collectives have a greater role in their selection. At the same time, there are still quite frequent cases when the party bylaws are violated. Recently, this was the reason for removing 44 staff personnel from the positions they occupied. The participants in the plenum were also disturbed by this fact: a survey conducted among the members of the obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and also numerous letters reaching party and soviet authorities indicate that some of the responsible party and soviet personnel still have not overcome the attraction to paper shuffling. In some places they still put their hope exclusively on meetings to the detriment of live contacts with people. This is one of the reasons why the transformations taking place have been held back. The bureaucratic attitude or vanity displayed by a particular leader are then reflected in the actions of his subordinates. Sometimes what is wished for is presented as reality; in some rayons they embellish what has been done in the areas of trade services, consumer services, and medical service. Yet there are more problems than achievements in that area.

The ideological effort and political indoctrination are in need of major changes. Some leaders give in to demagogues and are unable to carry on a dialogue. That is why they often resort in their work to prohibitive methods instead of using the most powerful instrument—persuasion.

There was discussion of the need to expand democracy and the collective principle in the work of the buro. It was emphasized that many issues, even uncomplicated issues, are frequently decided by the members of the buro only after consulting with the first secretary.

The speech by A.P. Plyusnin, chairman of the oblast consumer union, sounded out of tune to some extent with the general mood in the plenum. He did not speak about how cooperators are undergoing restructuring and about the kind of potential for this that needs to be tapped, but he rather forwarded numerous requests in

various directions. He passed over in silence what the consumer union itself is doing. Nor did he answer the question put in the speeches as to why staples are frequently not available in rural stores.

By way of preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the participants in the plenum expressed a number of recommendations on amendments to be made in the party bylaws and on improvement of the party political effort. Attention should be paid, for example, to the opinion that there should be at least five members of the CPSU required for forming primary party organizations instead of three. It was proposed that provision be made for financial and nonfinancial incentives for members of the CPSU leaving for a deserved rest after working as secretaries of party organizations for more than 10 years without being dismissed.

S. Mukashev, chairman of the Presidium of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the plenum.

Kokchetav Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by P. Kapitonov and A. Rotmistrovskiy, KAZTAG: "Make Progress and Achieve More"]

[Excerpts] To be fair we should say that the facts referred to have not made the participants in the plenum complacent. Serious thought has to be given to the state of affairs in the economy and in the sphere of construction of facilities for social welfare and cultural services. That is why even at the outset of the report presented by M.R. Sagdiyev, first secretary of the obkom, the questions were put straightforwardly: Are we doing all we can, has all the potential been activated, and have forces been correctly deployed? And, relying on the answers to them, the speaker also took responsibility on himself. But there could have been far fewer shortcomings in socioeconomic development, in the economy, and in the sphere of social welfare if the buro as a whole had also been more strict with itself and with the obkom departments and oblast and rayon organizations concerning acceleration of restructuring.

Many of the speeches were self-critical and businesslike; that was in fact the tone set by the preparation for the plenum. In meetings of buro members with party and soviet officials, work collectives, and specialists on the eve of the plenum quite a few valuable recommendations were made, especially concerning agriculture—the principal sector of the oblast's economy. The plan covering the first 2 years was fulfilled for grain procurements at a level of only 91 percent, and the state also failed to receive a great deal of potatoes and vegetables. If the Food Program is to be carried out more quickly, there is a need for nonstandard approaches and full use of the conditions created by the new economic mechanism. But the recommendations drafted in the oblast to develop the agroindustrial complex have not demonstrated their

effectiveness. On an area of more than 1 million hectares grain crops are being raised for the third year in accordance with an intensive technology on which millions of rubles have been spent, but still the planned yield from its introduction has not been achieved. For this and other reasons there has been a shortfall of more than 500,000 tons of grain every year.

What is the trouble? Many of the speakers put that question. But the point is that no one has really conducted a thorough analysis of the oversights and errors and flagrant violations of a scientifically sound technology. That is why the mistakes have been recurring year after year. In Leninskiy Rayon gross grain output has even dropped in recent years. Ruzayevskiy Rayon has given up the positions it once held in field cropping: it ended last year with losses. There have been signs of a slump in animal husbandry, where extensive methods of production predominate. The growth in the productivity of livestock has been slow.

There is no doubt that quite a bit of the fault for all this lies with the bureau of the party obkom, which has not been consistent or persistent enough in carrying out its own decisions or in general correct decisions to develop cropping and animal husbandry. Nor have the oblast agroindustrial committee and RAPO been very active. They have gone on in the old way, just as in the time of oblast agriculture administrations. And V.M. Fortovskiy, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee and member of the bureau of the party obkom, instead of being strict with specialists and the heads of subordinate staff services, has been trying at times to pass on the solution of the problems that have come to a head to party authorities. V.N. Zub, second secretary of the party obkom, was also criticized in this connection. Pressure is the method natural to him, and he does not always show enough initiative or follow up on fulfillment of decrees.

There was reference to significant oversights in industry, construction, transportation, communications, the trade sector, medical service, and cultural and consumer services. The effort required has not been brought about in work collectives; every month 8-14 enterprises fail to fulfill plans. They are making poor use of fixed productive capital, as shown by the very first weeks in the new year. One out of every six enterprises failed to fulfill obligations for deliveries under contract, and one out of every four failed to meet the target for the rise of labor productivity. And in the association "Kokchetavmebel," in the felt boot factory, in the Kuybyshev Repair Plant, and at the Krasnoarmeysk Rural Construction Combine productivity even dropped. Not everyone converted to full cost accounting and self-financing has been properly prepared for it.

Product quality leaves something to be desired. The instrument-making plant has been the talk of the town as the first enterprise in the oblast placed under state acceptance. They failed to meet its requirements, and as a result 5.4 million rubles worth of products were not

delivered. There were reasons for that, but they were not thoroughly analyzed either by the Kokchetav party obkom nor by the obkom department for industry and transportation. The oblast's construction workers, though they did in fact fulfill the plan for the first 2 years, have been slack in developing the direct-labor method of building housing, and the quality of workmanship still remains an acute problem in this area. Justified complaints were advanced in the plenum concerning Yu.V. Gremyachenskiy, the party obkom secretary responsible for these sectors.

The course of the discussion of the report demonstrated that the obkom bureau has still not been able to raise the level of work done by party committees to meet the requirements of restructuring. There has been evidence of inertia and outdated methods. New approaches to solving problems have not been sought out everywhere by any means. Almost nothing has changed, for example, in the work style of the Leningradskiy Rayon Party Committee and the primary party organizations in the rayon, where the sovkhozes are operating at a loss. The Volodarskiy Rayon Party Committee has not overcome signs of stagnation. The leaders of these and many other party committees need to make the transition more rapidly to political methods of leadership and to be closer to people and their demands.

In all, 48 personnel who were part of the staff of the party obkom have been discharged since the 27th CPSU Congress because they did not cope or because they compromised themselves.

It was noted that the obkom bureau has been trying to create a businesslike and creative atmosphere in the secretariat, in the departments, and throughout the entire apparatus. There has been a reduction of the number of meetings and conferences and of the decisions taken, especially on specific economic matters. Nevertheless, the bureau and staff of the obkom have still not restructured themselves. The paper flow is still large, and if it has been reduced, it has been replaced by telephone requests for information. This stands in the way of the study and dissemination of progressive know-how.

The plenum became a serious test for members of the obkom. They were directed toward determined correction of shortcomings and more active participation in the second stage of restructuring.

N.I. Osipov, sector chief of the department for science and scientific institutions of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.A. Mukhambetov, chairman of the party control commission of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Turgay Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by S. Shukirov, I. Yavorovskiy, and V. Cherki-zov, KazTAG: "From the Positions of Higher Requirements"]

[Excerpt] The speakers not only exposed shortcomings, but also advanced constructive ways of correcting them. An urgent demand was issued for setting up a strong barrier to the administrative approach and petty interference with practitioners in the economy. To that end it was proposed that a greater role be given to the department for organizational and party work, the department for propaganda and agitation, and the economics department. Then, the speaker said, there would be a sharp reduction in the number of attempts to settle all matters exclusively with enterprise directors, bypassing party organizations and their secretaries, with whom few of the obkom personnel now meet regularly.

The insufficient connection between the oblast party headquarters and primary party organizations was pointed out by V.I. Smykalova, member of the bureau of the party obkom and brigade leader on the "Lvovskiy" Sovkhoz. The energies exist to correct this shortcoming, and they are quite considerable. Above all they consist of rank-and-file members of the obkom—workers, milkmaids, and farm machine operators. It is just necessary to utilize their potential, not simply to invite them to vote for this or that particular measure, as has been the case until recently. Their functions must be greatly broadened. They are called upon to furnish feedback: to inform the obkom about the mood of the masses, their interests, what they want, and what they need. Another field for the activity of obkom members is to bring its decisions to their own work collectives and to mobilize the workers to carry them out.

The preparation for the transition of farms to self-support beginning next year has caused serious concern among the participants in the plenum. A.Sh. Kauynbayev, shepherd of the Sovkhoz imeni Abay, and others noted that K.A. Aubakirov, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, and G.N. Korotenko, second secretary of the party obkom, have not managed to turn things around in the operation of the APK. There is still a trend toward deterioration of qualitative indicators in animal husbandry. In a number of rayons there has been a drop in the weight of livestock sold, milk production is off, the number of head of dairy cows and horses is dropping, fewer young animals are being born, and more are dying. Advantage is not being taken everywhere of the capability of intensive technologies for raising grain crops. The staff of the APK remains not very mobile, the style of its leaders is largely that of issuing commands. Many of its personnel and also farm specialists have a confused idea of full cost accounting and self-financing.

Two solutions of these problems were outlined in the fierce discussion that took place in the agriculture section (five sections were at work at the plenum). The first is to improve the quality and effectiveness of economics education. There are serious obstacles on this road: the acute shortage of people who are familiar with the practical questions of the new economic mechanism. A two-level training of lecturers and propagandists was proposed to correct this: those at the oblast level would

be trained in republic seminars and those at the rayon level would be trained in oblast seminars. The second is to improve the training, assignment, and indoctrination of personnel.

The party meeting was held in the Arkalykskiy Rayon Association of Specialized Farms, where the secretary of the party committee, the chairman of the executive committee of the rural soviet, and the farm's chief economist lost a vote of confidence. Of course, on the one hand this indicates a higher exactingness and greater activity of party members. But on the other it indicates a mistaken personnel policy. Recently, about half of the farm directors and about 900 secretaries of party organizations have been removed. Moreover, one out of every six of them was discharged with unfavorable references. And concern had not been paid in good time to a pool of reserve personnel. So that replacements had to be sought in haste. And haste is a poor helper in any job. It was proposed that not only party leaders and key people in the economy, but also their backups, be elected and that this be done on competitive principles. In the period of transition to self-support it would be advisable to make wages not only of animal husbandrymen and field croppers, but also of specialists and RAPO directors directly responsible on the end results—the yield and income.

Restructuring requires that its ideas be assimilated by the consciousness of the entire body of workers—that was the theme running through most of the speeches made in the section for ideological personnel. They should be less in the role of inspectors and auditors and become competent advisers and teachers. There is much to be done so that the population of the oblast senses the fruits of acceleration and renewal more broadly and perceptibly. Local soviets and trade unions need to step up their effort toward further development of public education, health care, the trade sector, and municipal services and utilities.

Specific measures were defined to overcome elements of stagnation, inertia, and stereotypes and to enhance the role of party members in the struggle for restructuring, for high rates of development of the social sphere and economy of the oblast, and for a worthy pledge to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Z.K. Kamalidenov, secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Karaganda Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Golovanov, KAZAKHANSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent, and R. Suleymenov, staff correspondent of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN: "The Line of Reference Should Be New Approaches"]

[Excerpts] The report stated self-critically: "The obkom bureau has not always managed in the search for new approaches to avoid mistakes and costs. The situation is

problematical because the transition from the old to the new economic system is taking place under conditions where the oblast's economy is laden with the burden of stagnant manifestations. The changes for the better that have been achieved are not fundamental nor major; the braking mechanism has not yet been shattered nor altogether replaced by the mechanism of acceleration. There has been no abrupt change of direction in economic development."

This is a frank evaluation. Incidentally, it was in fact shared by all those who spoke in the plenum. An important blank spot in the activity of the buro, they said, consisted of mistakes in leadership of party organizations of industrial enterprises, in the transition of sectors and branches to an intensive strategy for development. Failure to fulfill obligations concerning product deliveries has been disturbing. Last year one out of every three enterprises failed to meet those obligations, and as a result 111 million rubles of goods were not delivered.

Other oversights in the economy are also alarming. One out of every five enterprises did not achieve the reference targets for the rise of labor productivity and one out of every three failed to meet the target for reduction of production cost. Plans for development of science and technology are not being fulfilled. The coefficient of renewal of the active part of fixed capital is low at 5.5 percent, while at the same time the physical wear of working capital stands at 43.5 percent.

V.N. Mirza, member of the buro of the party obkom and chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, was severely criticized at the plenum. The growth of the yield of agricultural crops has been slow. The growth of meat production has occurred mainly by virtue of extensive factors. Milk production per dairy cow has not even been reaching the 1979 level. A substantial portion of output is delivered at a low level of quality. In the past 2 years farm losses solely from the mortality of the animals have amounted to more than 20 million rubles. The year ended with losses for 22 sovkhozes. In the plenum of the party obkom which was held last July this figure was mentioned: indebtedness of sovkhozes based on loans amounts to more than 200 million rubles. In the present plenum this figure was no longer referred to. Yet the debt has not gone away! What will the situation be with cost accounting, self-financing, and self-support? What will happen to the farms operating at a loss? V.N. Mirza did not offer a persuasive answer in his presentation at the plenum.

Evaluating the work style of the buro of the party obkom in the context of restructuring, the participants in the plenum noted that it still has not extricated itself from the outdated stereotypes, formalism, overorganization, and the methods of administrative pressure. It is true that now the staff of the obkom has begun to issue fewer requests for all kinds of data and written reports, but at the same time they have switched to the telephone, and they are still asking for data of various kinds.

"There are 17 departments in the obkom," A.V. Malin, first secretary of the Shakhta Party Gorkom, complained. "And almost every one of them is demanding various figures. As a consequence, the staff of party gorkoms and raykoms is unable to regularly visit lower-level organizations and work collectives. The personnel of the party obkom mainly act as auditors and dispatchers when they travel around. Instead of issuing general commands, it would be advisable for them to provide effective help, to visit party organizations, to analyze practical matters in detail, to make suggestions as to how more effective work can be done in the context of restructuring.

It was emphasized at the plenum that the obkom buro has not been relying very much on its own elected aktiv. The entire work of certain members of the party committee quite often is limited only to attending plenums. Moreover, they are not always afforded the possibility of discussing particular problems with the secretaries and department heads of the obkom in an everyday situation.

As is well-known, today success in restructuring is decisively determined by personnel policy. This cannot be done without costs. Fifty-three leaders have been dishonorably discharged from the posts they occupied. The buro of the party obkom has been overlooking a great deal in dealing with personnel matters. There has been no system in training reserve personnel, quite often this pool of personnel is made up on a formal basis. There are 1,205 people on the staff of the party obkom. And, of course, it is hardly possible to keep one's eye on such a broad group of personnel.

An assessment was given of the work of every member of the obkom buro in the plenum. Practically every one of them had to hear quite substantial criticism.

The criticism was stated out loud, openly, and backed up with argument. And it would seem that this exacting discussion would undoubtedly serve the cause of restructuring, an increase in the effectiveness of organizational and ideological-training effort by the buro of the party obkom, and intensification of the militance of party organizations.

Those who took part in the discussion offered a number of specific proposals related to preparation for the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

Ye.F. Bashmakov, member of the buro of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum.

The plenum took up organizational matters. Zh.Sh. Kalmagambetov was discharged from his duties as second secretary of the obkom because of his transfer to another job. A.I. Ibzhanov, who has been first secretary of the Kirovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Karaganda, was elected second secretary and member of the obkom

buro. Sh.T. Tokmagambetov, who is retiring, was discharged from the duties of secretary and chief of the department of the coal industry and member of the obkom buro. M.K. Aliyev, who has been second secretary of the Shakhta Party Gorkom, was elected secretary, chief of the department of the coal industry, and member of the obkom buro.

V.S. Borodin, instructor of the party control committee of the CPSU Central Committee, and R.U. Berdyguzhin, deputy chief of the department for heavy industry of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

Dzhezkazgan Oblast

18300160 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 26 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by U. Zhapparkhanov, staff correspondent of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN, and V. Mogilnitskiy, staff correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA: "The Danger of the Old Rut"]

[Excerpts] In the plenum of the party obkom, which heard the buro's report on the work of guiding restructuring, no one was indifferent. If we wish to generalize everything said in the plenum, its essence came down to the point that the buro and the obkom secretaries have not achieved appreciable changes. The report, which was presented by G.Ye. Yesmukanov, second secretary of the obkom, and the speeches noted that the failure of the buro to follow up execution of its own decisions as it should have done and poor communication with primary party organizations had been a serious omission on its part. Just recently dozen of decisions have been adopted on aspects of industrial development. An especially disturbing situation has come about in the Scientific-Production Association "Dzhezkazgantsvetmet," where copper production has dropped off almost 30 percent since 1974.

It was noted in the plenum of the obkom that the oblast's economic and social development has not been maintaining a sufficient pace, reinforcement of the raw materials base of enterprises in nonferrous metallurgy has been going slowly, and the effort to accelerate scientific-technical progress has slacked off. One out of every four enterprises has not fulfilled plans for the rise of labor productivity, and one out of three for deliveries under contract. The output-capital ratio and the quality of products produced have remained low, and production cost has been rising.

And the share of the fault of V.M. Murzin, member of the buro and secretary of the party obkom, who is responsible for industry, is not inconsiderable in all of this, it was said at the plenum. He has been operating in the same old way, taking the place of soviet leaders and managers in the economy. He has been paying little attention to increasing the accountability of personnel for development of the raw materials base of nonferrous

metallurgy and for the output of consumer goods. The participants in the plenum were not satisfied with the speech delivered by V.M. Murzin, who attempted to smooth out the rough spots and to avoid answering the questions as to what methods he intended to use in acting further in the course of restructuring.

The participants in the plenum remarked that the ideological effort in the oblast, as in the past, is lagging behind the demands of the times. The human factor still remains an untapped potential in the work with people. Universal economics education and instilling in people a sense of being the master of production have been poorly organized everywhere. As shown by a quick sample survey, 18 percent of the respondents are still not familiar with the Law on the State Enterprise, and 42 percent responded that it had not been studied in their collectives.

K.M. Mediyev, first secretary of the Dzhezdinskiy Rayon Party Committee, noted that the natural work style of S.U. Sapargaliyev, member of the buro and secretary of the obkom for ideology, is to do everything from his office. He rarely goes out to primary party organizations and work collectives.

The obkom's communication with primary party organizations might be strengthened if active use were made of the elected aktiv. D.Sh. Dzhakupbayev, senior smelter in the Production Association "Balkhashmed," L.I. Kucherenko, operator at the Zhanaak Station, G. Zhakupbekov, senior shepherd of the Sovkhoz "Karatalskiy" in Aktogayskiy Rayon, and L.V. Shvedov, who teaches in No 10 Secondary School in Balkhash, who spoke at the plenum, noted that they were formally members of the obkom, but had not been involved in preparing issues for plenums and the buro.

The participants in the plenum noted that the command-pressure work style is natural to N.G. Davydov, first secretary of the obkom. He has been unable to create in the buro an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and solidarity. There have been no particular changes in the buro's activity even in the recent past. This is indicated by the fact that there is a growing flow of complaints from the oblast's workers addressed to various officials. This makes it evident that people mistrust the leaders of the oblast and the local authorities. There have been quite a few cases of indifference toward worker complaints.

N.G. Davydov, first secretary of the obkom, has set an "example," to be frank, of callousness toward citizens' letters and verbal statements. He has surrounded himself with his loyal "assistants," who have not been letting people take a single step toward his office. Matters have gone to the point where N.G. Davydov did not deem it necessary to receive M.M. Nevolina, deputy of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Dzhezkazgan Geological Exploratory Expedition, on an urgent matter.

N.G. Davydov connived so that for a long time positions of leadership were held by people referred to as "shifting sands." L.N. Ivanchenkov, a former buro member and secretary of the obkom responsible for construction, was one of them. There has not been a single plenum of the obkom in which he has not been criticized for the breakdown in the operation of the oblast's construction trusts. But thanks to the first secretary's support, L.N. Ivanchenkov always came out of the water without getting wet with the tacit consent of buro members.

Meanwhile, affairs in capital construction have been going from bad to worse. Introduction of the collective contract and the multishift operating schedule has been going slowly. Every month about 40 percent of the construction collectives do not fulfill plans, and schedules for building many projects are constantly breaking down.

Or take the problems of the trade sector for which that same L.N. Ivanchenkov was responsible. Plans for retail sales have gone chronically unfulfilled in the oblast for many years. At the same time, violations of the principles of Soviet trade and theft of public property have continued to increase. It was emphasized at the plenum that the buro of the party obkom is still paying little attention to development of the agroindustrial complex. Recently, the secretariat of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee heard a report from the obkom and noted that the level of production that has been attained does not guarantee fulfillment of the targets of the Food Program. Buro members G.Ye. Yesmukanov, obkom second secretary responsible for the agroindustrial complex, and V.I. Rogov, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, have not achieved radical restructuring in party guidance of the rural economy. Some 24 sovkhozes ended last year with losses amounting to 10 million rubles. The problem of land development in the zone of the Karaganda-Dzhezkazgan Canal has not been solved, nor has the problem of stable supply of vegetables and potatoes to the population. There have been many failures in animal husbandry. What kind of restructuring can be talked about in this branch when milk production per dairy cow does not exceed 1,900 kg? Last year 15 percent of the ewes, one out of every three dairy cows, and more than half of the mares did not give birth.

Unfortunately, the alarm was not sounded as it should have been in the plenum about how the oblast lacks an integral and thoroughly thought-through system for working with personnel and building up a pool of personnel. There are still cases when leaders who have compromised themselves move from one position of responsibility to another.

The plenum found the work of the buro of the party obkom in guidance of restructuring to be inadequate. It committed the buro to taking steps to correcting the oversights and mistakes which have been noted and to be a true organizer of the changes which have been outlined.

S.K. Kubashev, second secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, and A.M. Kandaurov, deputy chief of the heavy industry and energy department of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Organizational questions were taken up. N.G. Davydov was discharged from the responsibilities of first secretary and member of the buro of the party obkom because of his retirement for reasons of health. Ye.G. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, who has been KaSSR minister of installation and specialized construction work, was elected first secretary and member of the buro of the party obkom.

L.N. Ivanchenkov was discharged from the duties of secretary and member of the buro of the party obkom in connection with his transfer to work in the economy. I.N. Sharpinskiy, who has been chief of the construction department of the Kokchetav Oblast Party Committee, was elected secretary and member of the buro of the obkom.

V.A. Borovkov, instructor of the department for organizational and party work of the CPSU Central Committee, O.V. Vinogradov, chief of the department for organizational and party work of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, V.I. Kotelnikov, chief of the heavy industry department of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, and O.A. Abdykarimov, deputy chief of the department for organizational and party work of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, took part in the proceedings of the plenum.

07045

Cadre Issues, Agroprom Discussed at Kazakh Obkom Plenums

Uralsk Oblast

18300170 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 2

[KazTAG article by V. Yermolin and K. Nauryzbayev: "The Uralsk Party Obkom Reports on Supervision of Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] Each of the 58 speakers at the plenum and at the meetings of its problem-solving groups one way or another called attention to the necessity for deepening democratization and glasnost, especially in the selection and assignment of cadres. A.A. Yermolenko, a worker at the wall materials association; Ye.A. Malkina, party committee secretary at the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin in Priuralskiy Rayon; Zh.U. Umbetaliyev, senior shepherd on Shipovskiy Sovkhoz; A.K. Valakhov, chief of the oblast motor transport administration; and others, emphasized that everything is being done properly according to form; but in actuality—there are frequent errors and serious costs.

During the past year, of the 918 supervisors removed from their posts, every other one had assumed his position following extensive discussions, and elections. Over the past two years the obkom apparat has experienced a two-thirds personnel turnover, and three-fourths of the personnel at the party gorkom and raykoms have been replaced. At first glance this seems to bear witness to activation of work with the cadres; but at the second, third and fourth...a number of serious questions arise.

The following facts are cited: Over a two-year period, of the 147 sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen in the oblast, 89 were sacked. Twenty of them were removed from their assigned responsibilities for inability to cope with their work, or for compromising themselves. And there is a high turnover rate among deputy chairmen of the oblast agro-industrial committee. All of these officials were confirmed by the party obkom buro, but not one of those who recommended them for promotion has received a principled evaluation for his all-too-frequent mistakes.

Obkom Buro member and Chairman of the Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee B.I. Uskumbayev bears primary responsibility for the cadre instability in the agro-industrial complex, said the plenum participants. His work is still characterized by formalism and a superficial approach to the evaluation of the political, moral and businesslike qualities of his subordinates. A paradoxical situation has come to pass: out of the thousands of specialists with higher education who work on the sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and at processing enterprises and repair facilities, the raykoms and party obkom are unable to effectively select a few dozen enterprising people for promotion to supervisory responsibilities. Last year only every other supervisor was selected from or elected from cadre reserves.

Serious charges on working with cadres were also leveled against N.I. Iskaliyev, party obkom first secretary, and A.V. Antonov, obkom buro candidate member and chief of the party organizational work section. Quite often a capable, well-trained specialist "gets stuck" for a long time in secondary or tertiary roles in the apparats of the raykoms, the gorkom and the obkom.

The plenum participants thoroughly analyzed the activities of those elected to membership in the obkom buro during the past year. After all, as Dzhangalinskiy party Raykom First Secretary A.N. Nurgaliyev, Zh.T. Sapasheva, a seamstress at the Akzhaikskiy Rayon Bytkombinat, and others, stressed—the entire journey depends on the first steps. And well-intentioned criticism from the comrades should help the beginning supervisors become leaders—not only in name, but in actuality.

Party Obkom Second Secretary V.K. Zhurin was given responsibility for party supervision of the oblast industrial-transport complex. The plenum participants pointed out that he has not yet achieved a harmonious

working relationship between the departments of the obkom and those of the party gorkom and raykoms. Zhurin often tends to resolve purely managerial problems with representatives of various ministries and departments, bypassing the oblast ispolkom; and he neglects critical problems of raising the effectiveness of the activities of party organizations.

Changes for the better have been noted in supplying the populace with foodstuffs. In two years the actual per-capita consumption of meat has increased by 10 kilograms, and milk and dairy products by 30 kg. But a great deal remains to be done. The plenum participants focused their attention on shortcomings in the work of buro members N.V. Rogozhnikov, chairman of the oblast ispolkom; B.I. Uskumbayev, chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee; and N.P. Mordasov, obkom secretary—to whom party supervision of the agro-industrial complex was delegated. These officials were criticized for their tendency to resolve current problems to the detriment of future problems, for their inclination for the office style of management, and for being insufficiently independent in implementing a number of very important programs.

Production of vegetables is developing slowly, and there is no stability in grain farming. This in particular is brought about by the fact that the chairman of the oblast agro-industrial complex strives to take upon himself the resolution of all problems, instead of ensuring the proper activeness among his deputies and the staffs of the oblast agro-industrial committee and the RAPOs. It was specifically mentioned that the members of the obkom had pointed out this shortcoming to him at previous plenums, but he is slow to overcome it.

A number of the speakers touched on shortcomings in ideological work, stressing the need to increase the role of the mass information media in perestroyka.

In their speeches to the plenum, members and candidate members of the obkom buro acknowledged the shortcomings and neglect in their activities, and described how they will improve matters in the sectors of work allotted to them.

The plenum defined for each of the members and for the obkom buro as a whole, specific ways to improve and increase their personal contribution to increasing the militance of the party organizations, to improve international and patriotic education of the workers, and to realize the tasks for radical economic reform.

Propositions were worked out, which are to be introduced for discussion at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Specifically, the communists of Ural region of Kazakhstan propose to examine questions of direct elections of secretaries of party organization by secret balloting among several candidates; questions of the

rights and responsibilities of the members of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms; and the system for bringing them up to strength.

Kazakh CP Central Committee First Secretary G.V. Kolbin delivered a speech at the plenum.

East Kazakhstan Oblast

18300170 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHS TAN Correspondent M. Abugaliyev and KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA Staff Correspondent A. Akava: "Do Not Be Satisfied with the Status Quo": "The East Kazakhstan Party Obkom Reports on Supervision of Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] What can we now convey to the aktiv of the oblast party organization? Following the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the obkom buro set a course toward establishing an atmosphere of creativity in the party organizations. Demands on supervisory cadres were noticeably increased. It became necessary to bid farewell to those who did not take a conscientious attitude toward their obligations, or who abused their official position. In three years 353 officials on the nomenklatura were sacked.

Things have improved in construction affairs. For the first time the plan for introducing housing was fulfilled ahead of time. In 1987, 9,682 families held housewarming parties—one-fifth of those waiting in line to receive apartments. And there are positive changes in the operation of the oblast agro-industrial complex.

However, it was noted at the plenum, the party obkom buro has not ensured the necessary progress in a number of key sectors. The political influence method has been replaced by administrative pressure. Demands have been made, not for rhythmic and stable production, and not for the ability to see the prospects for its development, but for gross output achieved at any cost. In particular, this style of operation is characteristic of party obkom buro members A.S. Omarov, the party secretary who oversees industrial construction, transportation and communications; and Oblast Agroprom Chairman O.D. Devyatov.

What has this led to? Every fourth enterprise is failing to meet contracted deliveries, and is lagging behind on the growth rate of labor productivity. For the first time in the last seven years oblast industry has failed to meet the plan, in the amount of 5.5 million rubles' worth of consumer products.

The work of the agro-industrial complex was held up to serious criticism at the plenum. The Agroprom apparat is "drowning" in a sea of paper. On the whole, the command-and-order method of operation prevails in the offices. M.N. Nukeshev, a buro member and second secretary of the party obkom, does not exhibit the

necessary demandingness toward the supervisors of the APK. There have been no strict demands placed on them for the fact that the oblast has not reached the planned objectives in terms of producing agricultural products, with the exception of milk and eggs.

A major failure occurred in field-crop cultivation. Here the plan was not fulfilled for a single type of product.

Sharp criticism was addressed to state administrative departments... Take for example just this fact: Former General Director of the Kazles Association B.I. Kikin made a total mess of the matters entrusted to him, and led his collective into an impasse. With the knowledge of the republic branch ministry and the consent of the local party organs, he was transferred to the chair of the directorship of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Furniture Combine. He did not "pull his weight" here either. And now, it has become known that this "valued" worker presently heads up the Kokchetav Furniture Association. How can one comprehend all of this?

First Secretary of the Serebryanskiy party Gorkom, G.Ya. Semenova spoke with anguish of the problems at the cement plant, and appealed on this behalf to the appropriate branch republic ministries, and to the Kazakh CP Central Committee; but the problems have not been completely resolved.

But the plenum could not do without self-evaluations and the reading of prepared texts, or without general comments. Is this really the way a communist talks: "Having the pleasure of your company, we request that you..."? And on the other hand, it was a pleasure to hear the bold propositions addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

In truth, the plenum participants did express a number of propositions which, in the opinion of their authors, must be discussed at the party conference. For example, Yu.K. Sheyko, first secretary of the Ust-Kamenogorsk party gorkom touched on the question of the procedure for convening plenums.

Considerable criticism was heard at the plenum. Communists spoke out with the hope of correcting the situation. Chiefly—that their remarks and proposals should not be pigeonholed, but be implemented and serve the cause of perestroyka.

It makes sense, it was noted at the plenum, to conduct an inspection of the militance of the party organizations, in order to find reserves and put them into action. Also, the prestige of the communists in the working collective must be raised.

Kazakh CP Central Committee Secretary Yu.A. Meshcheryakov delivered a speech at the plenum.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were V.A. Larichkin, a section chief on the Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Ye.M. Asanbayev, chief of the Economics Department of the Kazakh CP Central Committee; and S.S. Nurpeisov, secretary of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

09006

BSSR Gomel Obkom Notes Concerns Over Private Housing, Other Issues

18000234 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by A. Gotovchkin and S. Sverkunov: "Participants in Belorussian CP Gomel Obkom Plenum Evaluate Buro's Activity by Its Practical Results"]

[Text] Reports by elective party organs regarding the guidance being provided for perestroika constitute a phenomenon which is still unusual and which is evoking keen interest among communists everywhere. It is understandable, therefore, that the buros and machinery of party committees wish to find and utilize new approaches to preparing for and conducting plenums with such an urgent agenda topic.

The Belorussian CP Gomel Obkom also sought to have its say in preparing for a plenum. Businesslike meetings were held with party activists, management personnel, and specialists from various sectors, as well as with the creative intelligentsia and veterans.

In response to the buro's appeal to the communists and all working people in this oblast, the obkom and the editors of GOMELSKAYA PRAVDA received several dozen letters containing remarks and suggestions.

Thus, the preparation for the plenum had already allowed us to examine more deeply and from various angles the activity of the elective organs, to elucidate more clearly the indisputably positive experience as well as the mistakes, omissions, and to arrive at a principled evaluation of what has been accomplished during the post-congress period.

This was not simple for the oblast party organization. The Chernobyl tragedy was a severe test of our firm strength, stamina, and ability to operate under extreme conditions. In overcoming the consequences of the accident at the nuclear-power station, the oblast's work collectives made some forward progress at the same time.

In industry the tasks assigned for two years of the five-year plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule with regard to growth rates in production volumes and labor productivity. The entire increase in commodity output was achieved by means of intensive factors. The planned capital investments were assimilated, and socio-cultural

types of facilities were put into operation by their scheduled deadlines. As compared with the average-annual level of the last five-year plan, the total output of agriculture increased by 21 percent. The plans for two years were over-fulfilled on all types of products except fruit.

Each new step was made and frequently is made with great difficulty. And not only due to the complexity of the situation or the scope of the problems. The mechanism of retardation has made itself known. This was stated straightforwardly by A. Kamay, the obkom first secretary, who delivered the report. He also mentioned that conducting a radical perestroika still lay ahead and that the obkom buro and machinery had been unable to ensure its necessary smooth rhythm in all sections.

The report designated many "sore spots" which today require both effective interference and well-thought-out work for the future. How do the buro members view this? What do they place at the center of their attention? What specific forms and methods are they thinking of utilizing in order to achieve the necessary results and attain the goals which have been set?

The tasks of improving the work style of the buro members and the obkom machinery became the center of the discussion at the plenum. It was noted that the leading officials of the party committees and organizations had turned to methods of political influence and were trying to overcome the administrative-management and command style.

Nevertheless, it was stated from the rostrum, full use is still not being made, for example, of the favorable opportunities which the ongoing process of democratization and glasnost have opened up. While fundamentally agreeing with the report's general evaluations and conclusions, many speakers considered it necessary to ask certain pointed questions, to speak out formally, as it were, and to name names. In particular, the report criticized a number of the obkom secretaries and sections for replacing soviet and economic managers, for attempting to "reserve" all matters for themselves. By way of developing this viewpoint, S. Gerkusov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Dobrushskiy Raykom, stated the following:

"In our work, as practical experience has convinced us, any 'command,' is bad just in and by itself. But it's three times as bad when it's incompetent, rash, and contradicts real life.... At the end of last April our rayon received the following directive from A. Pevnev, the obkom secretary: complete the potato planting by 5 May. But that meant increasing the speed of the planters to 15 kilometers per hour. Why have such a race? For the sake of the matter at hand or for the record?"

"Anatoliy Matveyevich ought to pay more attention to future problems and approach their solution from a party point of view, rather than wasting time over petty details." Thus, N. Sudas, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Oktyabrskiy Raykom, supported his colleague.

The discussion proceeded in this same vein concerning the work being done by the other buro members and the activity of the buro's machinery. It was stated openly, for example, that N. Brusko, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, should hold up higher standards for his subordinates and rely more fully on the strength of the collective organ of administration. It was asserted that A. Makushnikov, chief of the obkom's industrial transport section, lacks enough depth and specificity in analyzing processes and phenomena, nor does he show sufficient initiative, consistency, and persistence in implementing measures which have been outlined.

There was also talk about the obkom's instructors, about their insufficient political training, and about a certain pretentiousness which some of them have exhibited. A. Grakhovskiy, the oblispolkom chairman, told the story of how, at an instructor's whim, an entire board is sometimes sat down to write reference documents. They are especially fond of such paper documents in the sections of light industry, consumer goods, trade, and everyday communal services.

Speaking with concern were T. Radkova, a milkmaid at the Iskra Kolkhoz, Vetkovskiy Rayon; V. Shkurko, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Buda-Koshelevskiy Raykom; and A. Prosina, chairperson of the Svetlogorskiy Rayispolkom. They declared that quite a few obkom members had performed the role of "wedding generals," and that this obviously did not suit them. These speakers insisted that the obkom buro and its machinery extricate itself more boldly from matters of little significance, transferring their solution to the appropriate organs and devoting more attention to the critical remarks being uttered in the plenums.

Many speakers proposed that buro members meet more often with the staff members of party committees and work collectives and inform them about their own activity. This question did not come up by chance. As indicated by the letters to the obkom, and to the editors of the oblast newspaper which we mentioned above, the oblast's working people do not know enough about what the party obkom and its buro are working on and how they are doing it. The remarks set forth therein dealt, to a lesser extent, with improving the state of party work, deploying and training personnel, and more with economic, everyday problems. Shortcomings in the degree of informing the public about the activity of party organs is also attested by the meetings held by the traveling editors of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA Gomel's work collectives, meetings which took place in September of last year.

Several speeches also sounded forth the following thought: the obkom is still underestimating the positive experience of perestroyka. And it does exist in the oblast. The Mozyrskiy Gorkom of the Belorussian CP, Gomel's Central Raykom, the Zhitkovichskiy, Lelchitskiy, and Buda-Koshelevskiy Party Raykoms are functioning more energetically and purposefully; they are achieving tangible results. This experience needs to be summarized and disseminated. L. Barabanov, secretary of the Gomselmarsh Partkom, proposed that a "functioning encyclopedia of advanced experience" be created under the obkom's jurisdiction. This is all the more important inasmuch as, since January of the current year, every other enterprise in this oblast has been operating under the new operating conditions—self-support and self-financing. More than 70 percent of all industrial output will be produced at these enterprises.

Undoubtedly, the discussion at the plenum proceeded in a pointed, multi-leveled manner. However, a feeling of dissatisfaction has remained from the discussion of certain questions. Most likely, this is because it bore a primarily directive, indicative type of nature, and was not conducive to deep, serious thinking.

Principal among the group of questions is the personnel problem. The rapporteur specified that it occupied an extremely important place in the buro's activity and that quite a few energetic staff members with good future prospects have already been promoted to leadership positions. But, in fact, how and with the aid of what "lenses" did we manage to "spot" them? Herein, of course, lies the secret. If it is merely a matter of discussing the candidacies and approving recommendations at open party meetings, then it is understandable. But if there is not enough of this, then we must discuss the system of selecting staff personnel, as adjusted after the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

It was stated further that several candidacies and elections by secret voting of party-committee secretaries had been approved in the party gorkoms and raykoms of primary party organizations. Then it is impossible to understand why, for example, recent vacancies for secretarial posts in the Gomel Rechitskiy and Kalinkovich Belorussian CP Gorkoms were not refilled in this manner. If there are criteria whereby in some places it is possible, and some places not; if even the open discussion of leading officials does not guarantee freedom from errors. But perhaps, as V. Kozlovskiy, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Gomel Gorkom, put it in his speech, the buro obkom and its second secretary, V. Sanchukovskiy, do not trust the party committees enough to select and deploy staff personnel. Hence, the penchant for "paper qualifications," for the formal aspect of the matter. And, most likely, it was not by chance that during the past two years in the Gomel area 52 staff members of the party obkom were dismissed for not preparing the tasks assigned to their sections, and 553

officials of various ranks were held accountable for violations of party, state, and labor discipline, for abuses of their service positions, as well as instances of padding and deception.

To put it mildly, in the personnel problem, on the solution of which the success of perestroyka largely depends, it would be useful to have objective analysis instead of simple statements. And this should be conducted from the very beginning of the personnel process—the school.

"However, the obkom buro members have not even considered it necessary to meet with the schoolteachers," L. Gorlenko, a teacher from Secondary School No 36 of the oblast center, noted from the rostrum.

The role to be played by scientific and technical progress in perestroyka was essentially ignored in the report, even though this oblast has a solid scientific potential at its disposal.

The situation in the social sphere remains strained. Capital investments for building schools, hospitals, and out-patient clinics have not been assimilated. Some 528 everyday-service enterprises have fallen more than 7 million rubles short in providing paid services to the public. But the housing problem is particularly acute. There are 135,000 families in line to obtain apartments or to improve their housing conditions. But, as noted at the plenum, from the report one does not get the feeling that such a strained situation has been fully recognized in the buro or in the oblispolkom.

There are more than 3,000 families in Gomel who wish to build their own houses. But it has already been a year now that discussions have been taking place at various levels regarding the allotment of land plots near the city for individual construction. By the way, this was also written about two months ago in SOVETSKAYA BELO-RUSSIYA. And what has happened? Even now there are no land plots but merely delays for those persons desiring to improve housing conditions by their own efforts. Hence the resounding demands directed at the buro members and at A. Grakhovskiy, the oblispolkom chairman, to put an end to the red tape.

The speech by M. Tikhonovskiy, director of the Belorussian Metallurgical Plant, was filled with anxiety and hopes for aid. This plant has expanded its capacity, and the number of workers and specialists has grown. But, as a result, questions of personnel training and social-everyday problems are snowballing. Out of 5,300 employees, 3,000 persons are in line for housing. There are not enough kindergartens or cultural-communal-service institutions. Trust No 40, which was created in Zhlobin, does not satisfy the city's or the plant's construction needs.

"Nevertheless," the speaker concluded, "we noticed the participation by the obkom and its sections just 12 hours before our sequential capacities were put into operation."

In the revolutionary work on perestroyka a major role is played by matters of political and educational work with people. The human factor can be discovered and activated only if stereotyped forms and methods of ideological influences are not applied, if all the following units are linked together into a unified chain: mass media, cultural and sports institutions, and educational institutions, and if managers bear personal responsibility for this work in the labor collectives. However, we have not succeeded in extricating ourselves from formalism in this extremely important matter. An individual approach is lacking. Hence, the increase of drunkenness on the job and various negative phenomena among the youth. In this connection, the Belorussian CP Obkom Propaganda and Agitation Section was criticized by its chief, O. Koshevenko, for poorly coordinating the work of this oblast's ideological services.

"Certain employees in the cultural field," V. Selitskiy, first secretary of the Mozyrskiy Belorussian CP Gorkom, noted, "virtually propose that people's aesthetic opinions be formed solely by means of amateur-arts collectives. Small auditoriums do not suit professionals; they are on cost accounting, and they want to be provided with a hall having 1,000 seats—nothing else will do."

It was also noted that S. Bobyr, the obkom's secretary for ideology, must analyze his own work more exactly, in the spirit of the times improve the ideological activities of party committees and organizations, along with exhibiting a more principled attitude and higher standards.

It is easiest to move along an old, well-trodden path, without abandoning stereotypes and cliches, proceeding along steadily, and not seeing any use in taking a look at certain acute problems of practical experience. Obkom Secretary S. Bobyr, as well as other responsible ideological staff members, must immerse themselves more deeply in life, more boldly go out among the masses, act by taking people's demands into account, rather than proceeding from old, conservative schemes.

The critical mood at the plenum was highly intense. Taking this into consideration, the commission for working on a draft decree proposed to deem the measures being adopted by the obkom buro to ensure fulfillment of the tasks of perestroyka as insufficient. With such an adjustment the buro's activities will be approved in time. Furthermore, as it seems to us, it would be more desirable for it to tackle the unresolved problems of the cause, to more rapidly involve in practical work all party organizations, all party organizations, all communists, and all the labor collectives of this oblast. Of course, the obkom buro is called upon to head the effort to carry out perestroyka.

given references on communists, and the party meetings are almost all open ones. Remember the words of Lenin—"Purge, taking into consideration guidance from the non-party workers"—this is the concept of popular control of party matters. Yes, the party is subordinate to the people today as well, in the epoch of perestroika; and we are all living witnesses of the increasing strength of the controlling functions of the workers.

The participants devoted a great deal of attention to the mechanism of attestation. This is understandable. The clear-cut and at the very same time unregulated system for conducting it provides a guarantee from arbitrariness and the basis for a proper end result. Well, let's say that one was conditionally certified, and received a reprimand at the party meeting; and then what? Many people forget that attestation is not an end in itself. We are not purging ourselves of the passive members, but are raising their activeness and are calling upon a number of measures to make them active. Herein there is also a principal difference from the purge of the ranks. To apply dynamism to all party work is simply raising the level of activeness—political, labor and social—of every communist, of each of us.

By means of activating the position of a communist, attestation envisages enhancing the militance of the entire party organization. And thus, there is no argument over which is better—attestation of communists or examining the militance of the party organizations—which is now under way in Fergana as well as in other oblasts in the republic.

The conversation turned to references: are they necessary; and is it better to approve the performance appraisal after attestation, or before, or to limit ourselves to summons? But what if it becomes necessary to change the performance appraisal? What if the comrades have shown lack of adherence to principle? There was also interest in the question, whom to include in the commission: only one's own; only "outsiders" or both the one and the other? Incidentally, all kinds of variations take place in life. And probably, on the whole it is not necessary to go to extremes—it's either one way or another, as they say. Isn't it better to proceed from the specific situation, from a specific party organization and the level of its work, and from the staff responsible for resolving branch problems?

A principal factor: in a number of party organizations, performance appraisals are written without uniform criteria. In some appraisals everything is reflected—both the businesslike, the political, and the professional qualities—as well as how the subject behaves at home and in public, and what are his prospects for growth. And other appraisals are limited to just a few short sentences.

"But why do we need performance appraisals if the task is to get to know a comrade by talking to him? The commission gets to know him, the assembly examines

his strong and weak points—and then you reach a conclusion about the communist." (From a speech by V.I. Li, chief of the party organization department, Akhangaranskiy Raykom).

"What is the most important thing in a performance appraisal? A communist may appear to be theoretically prepared and active in public life—but it's possible he may be a poor worker, professionally. I think the main thing is his attitude toward labor, and what sort of specialist he is." (From a speech by M.A. Dolgikh, party committee secretary at the Urtak Association).

"With us both performance appraisals and summons play their role. But they cannot fully reflect our knowledge of a person. The main thing is knowing one another by working and living together. Here the secretary performs a role, and he always has the rights of a member of the commission." (From a speech by V.Yu. Afanasyev, party committee secretary at the Tashkent GRES [State Regional Power Station]).

I think that all of them are right to a large extent. And it's not a matter of rejecting and banning or abolishing various approaches. It is not the formality of the approach that is important, but that matters not be allowed to drift.

A letter of 27 July 1921 from the RKP(b) Central Committee to all party organizations states:

"Formality, required during the present examination of the party, with respect to the workers, must be reduced to the very minimum necessary. A worker employed at a plant and burdened with a family often has no time to appear before a committee and present the necessary documents. Local organizations of our party must take this situation into consideration with respect to workers at the enterprises, and must also consider the psychology inherent in such workers, who sometimes feel that they have shown sufficient proof of their devotion to the revolution and have no need for new recommendations. We must make every effort to meet such workers halfway and do everything that we are capable of doing to ensure that excessive formalities do not clash with such elements." ("Resolutions of the CPSU" Vol 2).

Interesting, is it not? Communists on pension are exempt from attestation. Probably because they too have "shown sufficient proof of their devotion and have no need for new recommendations." But then as far as the workers are concerned... Certain people taking part in the "round table" discussion, if they did not appeal for a liberal attitude toward the workers, at least called for less strictness. Others objected: The workers of today are not the same as in far-off 1921—both in terms of their level of political maturity, and in their theoretical preparation; thus, the requirements should not be lowered. And nevertheless, it seems to me, the main thing after all is how the person undergoing attestation relates to the cause; how he accepts perestroika; what he is personally

responsible for, and if at the same time he "takes a voyage" in theory, then you see that for him is not the main thing. Give him some training, and organize the political training on the proper level—that is also a way out.

They say that attestation has influenced the results of our common labor—discipline has been stepped up and responsibility increased. But let us not rush to reassuring conclusions—carrying out purification work at the very beginning. Many party organizations (46.5 percent) have not yet commenced attestation. Thus it all lies ahead of them. On the editorial staff (We are also conducting attestation) the first thing asked of a communist is—what is his personal contribution to perestroyka, and what in his view are the shortcomings in perestroyka work in the party organization and in the collective? I think that it is important that the one undergoing attestation should consider himself a participant in perestroyka.

09006

UkSSR SupSov Committees Examine Use of Agricultural Chemicals in Republic

18000269 [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 16 February 1988 carries on page 3 a 300-word report from a joint session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet permanent committees on the

agroindustrial complex, for the preservation of the environment and for the improved utilization of natural resources. The committees examined the work of the "Ukrselkhozkhimiya" (Ukrainian agrochemical service) in increasing the effective use of fertilizers as well as its work in protecting plants by chemical means. Also examined was Ukrselkhozkhimiya's adherence to legislation regulating preservation of the environment.

It was noted that agrochemical services rendered to the agricultural sector were not yet being conducted in accordance with the demands imposed by the accelerated rate of development of the agroindustrial complex. Agrochemical services were also not affecting the productivity of agricultural lands or Food Program plans to the extent they should. There has also been unsatisfactory improvement in the ecological situation. Numerous shortcomings were noted on the part of Ukrselkhozkhimiya's work in oblast and rayon associations. Biological methods of plant protection are being implemented far too slowly. As was the case previously, chemical preparations are not being stored or applied properly, which quite frequently has resulted in the contamination of soils and surface and ground water, as well as agricultural products.

The committees recommended that Ukrselkhozkhimiya take measures to remedy these shortcomings. Deputy Chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Yu. G. Bakhtin and the chiefs of a number of republic ministries and departments took part in the committees' work.

**Reforms, Qualitative Improvements Urged for
Media Coverage of CEMA Nations**

18300153 Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 1,
Jan 88 pp 12-15

[Article by Aleksandr Shikarev under the rubric "Restructuring—Concern of the Day": "Creating a Subject Anew—A Press Survey"]

[Text] When we speak today of positive changes in the press, it would be proper to acknowledge that those processes that make for salutary conditions are far from functioning uniformly in all areas of journalism. Reading, for example, the publications of the socialist countries, one has the sensation at times of holding in one's hands an edition that is three years old. It would be naive, of course, to expect that internal glasnost would automatically entail external glasnost. It is one thing to write about poor supplies of vegetables in Moscow, and another to write about the same subject from the capital of some other socialist state. For it has suddenly become a matter of international policy.

Two events, however, have laid the political foundations for restructuring the entire operation of our press, radio, and television for reporting the activities of the socialist countries: the 27th CPSU Party Congress, and the November 1986 meeting in Moscow of party leaders from fraternal countries with membership in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), signaling a new era in our relations with the socialist states. To discuss the results of these two forums, a seminar for all journalists specializing in the subject matter of the socialist countries took place in March of last year. Was the occasion conducted without a chairman? It was. But the main thing is that this was the first time in many long years that the issues concerned with interpreting such an important subject were dealt with in such an incisive and comprehensive way. The major theme sounded in the speeches of the seminar participants was the necessity of making a radically new approach to analyzing and evaluating the experience of fraternal countries and their parties, the principal criteria of which should be genuine social needs, acceleration of social development, and the strengthening of socialism in action. The objectives of the press were clearly set forth: to actively participate in improving collaboration between socialist countries; to foster full disclosure of the creative potential of socialism; and to interpret the processes of its development, not superficially and unsystematically by describing discrete phenomena, but revealing it in its full dimensions and complexity, and not glossing over contradictions but working to seek and find the most appropriate ways of resolving them.

But is everyone ready for such a change? Can we speak today of fundamental changes in this field? Without claiming to make a final analysis, as a close follower of the materials published in the socialist countries I should like to submit a few personal observations and comments.

I will begin with an assertion. A change for the better has taken place. Moreover, this change is rather substantial. It is even difficult to draw a comparison with the situation in 1986, the difference is so great. A large number of interesting and insightful articles have been published, a complete list of which would take up too much space. Nevertheless, I should like recall a few of them.

In the feature story "Crucial Problems of Vietnam" by G. Dadyanets, which appeared in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, the Soviet reader can, in effect, discover Vietnam for himself anew. It in no way resembles the idyllic pictures that a number of our journalists have labored to create. (After reading this story, it even seemed to me that from now on it would be simply impossible to write about this country in the way that had been done previously—alas, I was wrong.) Much has also been written recently about China, and on the whole perhaps their observations reflect reality. Nevertheless, a feature story by V. Korotich entitled "Specifics on China" in OGONEK stands in a class by itself, captivating the reader with its clarity of viewpoint, its sober realism in evaluating the present development of China, and its perspective on the future of Soviet-Chinese relations. L. Pochivalov returned from a trip to Poland with two extremely interesting interviews—one with party leader Ya. Gluchik, the other with a primate of the Polish Catholic Church, Yu. Glempe. Publication of such candid materials would have been unthinkable in years gone by. A model of genuinely businesslike collaboration was demonstrated by PRAVDA and the Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO in jointly published reports of work on the Ilichevsk-Varna ferry, capable of attracting attention of top officials in both countries to problems that have arisen. Among materials published on the theme of cooperation, a series of articles in PRAVDA under the general heading "In a Czechoslovak Village," which was given broad coverage in the CSSR, is noteworthy. Many materials, including articles by A. Krushinskiy in PRAVDA and an interview with academician B. Paton in IZVESTIYA, give us hope that our journalists will devote themselves in earnest to the complex problems of carrying out the integrated Program of Scientific and Technical Progress for CEMA Member Countries. Several publications—IZVESTIYA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA—have recently published articles on the critical problems of Soviet citizens living temporarily abroad.

The list of interesting published materials could be continued. Witness the initial bumps and bruises inflicted by the authors of separate articles in NOVOYE VREMYA and OGONEK as they tried to influence the international page by making a cavalry charge. In my view, however, journalists for the time being still tend to cultivate the soil superficially. Most often they are motivated by professional pride that has suffered greatly as a result of creating chintzy reproductions of such standard fare as "Successes of Our Friends." It is not simply a

matter of how to make the materials about the socialist countries more attractive to the reader, although that is of some importance. The task is far broader than that: to transform the press into an effective force in restructuring our relations with the other socialist countries.

The first thing that has to be done is to renounce established stereotypes. It is not yet fully realized that the news about the socialist countries is not simply part of the international page but constitutes a vitally important element, and that the criterion often used for assigning space—"the principle of what is left"—is not acceptable. We have already grown accustomed to the fact that our best journalists write about the USA and Japan any number of times but about the socialist countries only very rarely. And we take no account of the fact that such a situation is not normal. In our customary acceptance of Lenin's concept of the newspaper as "collective organizer," we are not forced to recognize that this is precisely the vital role that is assigned to us in our relations with fraternal countries.

We have even grown used to the fact that the cost-free exchange between members of the editorial staffs of the fraternal countries has turned into tourism at government expense, and we hesitate to remind our guests that the best memento of such an occasion for us would be for them to write an article about their own country. We are reconciled to the idea at times implicit in the pages of our newspapers that the socialist countries are peripheral in terms of global policy. Nor do we raise objections to the fact that with the international outlook of the of the newspapers and television programs like "International Panorama" or "Studio 9," space is not available for subjects from the world of socialism. Let me cite a current example. To report on a session of the National Assembly in the Hungarian People's Republic last year (a big event in the life of modern Hungary), scores of western correspondents came to Budapest, whereas our newspapers, except perhaps for IZVESTIYA, either picked up crumbs of information or failed to mention the work of the session altogether.

It is not surprising to find the correspondent of one's newspaper, on being assigned to a socialist country, rarely contributing any in-depth analysis or controversial material, but, in fact, duplicating TASS copy or passing off excerpts from the local press as his own material.

We may ask the following question: Why is it that IZVESTIYA does not write on a regular basis about the work being done by the popular, opinion-making organs in other socialist countries? Why does TRUD not write about trade unions, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA about literature, and SOVETSKIY SPORT about sports in other socialist countries?

There is no point, however, in simplifying matters. There are many questions to which one cannot find a simple unambiguous answer. For example, to what

extent is glasnost applicable in our relations with our friends? It would scarcely be appropriate, as in the old days, to write rose-colored commentaries. But how should we write today?

I do not think that there is a ready recipe for any one country—to say nothing of the socialist community as a whole. Probably, each journalist himself should come to sense and comprehend what is needed and what is non-essential. Of course, such an understanding does not come of its own accord. Essentially, it consists of an in-depth knowledge that is based on a genuine interest in the life of the people and the culture of the country. Additionally, there must be unquestionable objectivity and fidelity to fact, the absence of even a hint of interfering in internal affairs, and a sense of good will with the emphasis not upon difficulties in themselves but on ways of overcoming them. In particularly difficult situations, it is appropriate to express one's opinions indirectly in the form of interviews, joint statements, or reprints.

Let us take the simplest of situations, which as it turns out is also the most complex. Journalists, after sometimes spending considerable effort on an article about the interesting experience of our friends, are not surprised to encounter a reaction of indifference on the part of Soviet ministry departments and organizations. A paradox? Yes, it is. In the modern world it is an accepted thing to pay for useful information. We for our part can not only find out what is going on that is new among our friends without paying for it; we can get their help in introducing it. Yet articles on various discoveries by our friends most of the time fail to find readers in our country. Enterprises and organizations refrain from actions for their very own benefit, and that cannot be considered normal. Once again the press can be a real force in combating this sluggishness, as, for example, in the case of TRUD, which for the time being is the only newspaper carrying a column entitled "Experience of Friends—A Window of Opportunity." Its aim is not only to give information about interesting innovations, but also to obtain from leaders in the appropriate Soviet departments their evaluations of the experiments described and gain a perspective on their applications among us. Of course, there is an immense time lag between even the most favorable response and its practical application, so that it is necessary for the newspaper to keep coming back to the topic until its introduction becomes a reality.

We have been discussing the work of journalists. But, of course, a huge number of Soviet specialists travel to the socialist countries, and the results of these trips often are not to be found in the pages of the newspapers. The reporting of useful experience is almost completely under the control of correspondents, although editors could manage to find a wide range of interesting new authors. Such was the case when B. Fomin, director

General of Leningrad Association (Izmeny Kirov), wrote an article about his trip to the GDR in *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*, which was reprinted in the newspaper *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*.

As our cooperation with the socialist countries continues to expand, so does the need for involving journalists who specialize in various kinds of expertise. The correspondent of the newspaper *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA*, V. Kovalenko, who is an economics expert, recently published several interesting articles about GDR conglomerates, direct ties between enterprises in the USSR and CSSR, and the first joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprise.

This does not mean that Soviet correspondents are not obligated to report on the experience gained by our friends. On the contrary, they are the pioneers; they are the ones needed to keep expanding the search area, so that the achievements of one country may become the possessions of the entire socialist community. In those cases that are concerned with new experiments and advanced technology, the journalist would probably be well advised to take a specialist as co-author in order to avoid amateurism and subjectivism.

What kind of experience should be reported? For the present our journalists are often busy tracking down the achievements and discoveries of individuals or separate organizations. But has not the time come to make the transition to a higher level of reporting? To show the achievements of scientific thought in the study of developmental processes of modern socialism; to reveal improvement in systems of party leadership; to trace the evolution and implementation of reforms in political, economic, and social spheres. Such large-scale subjects, which have been dealt with recently in some newspaper editions, provide us with an opportunity to test ourselves as political analysts of the socialist countries.

There is one other sphere in which the informational and organizational functions of the press are closely interwoven, and that is in the development of direct economic ties. Newspapers become actively involved in this area in attempting to uncover the causal factors interfering with cooperation. One gets the impression, however, that journalists tend to oversimplify the problem by attributing all the difficulties to bureaucratic obstacles. Notwithstanding the great importance of battling bureaucracy, the most important thing is to overcome passivity and the force of inertia. Instead of becoming preoccupied with abstract propaganda about the usefulness of direct ties, the press could provide a broad forum for specialists in foreign economic relations and legal experts to analyze a marked slowdown in the development of direct ties; to give a scientifically based view of cooperation; to propose and discuss specific candidates for partnership; to reveal in the most concrete kind of detail the potential and advantages of cooperation; and, finally, to continue to interpret the experience that has been gained.

It is impossible to talk about significant changes in reporting the problems of socialist countries if no changes are made in patterns of cooperation between Soviet journalists and their colleagues abroad. *PRAVDA* has made a number of interesting proposals to start off with: a joint inspection of fraternal newspapers with respect to quality of deliveries within the CEMA framework; a roundtable discussion with the Polish newspaper *TRIBUNA LUDU* on problems of economic cooperation between our two countries; and a special column on a GDR national holiday prepared in its entirety by *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*. Analytical material on the results of a seminar together with a Bulgarian trade union newspaper on the problems of joint enterprises has appeared in *TRUD*. Articles by correspondents of socialist countries accredited in the USSR have appeared on the pages of *IZVESTIYA*. A frank conversation on crucial issues of reform in the socialist countries took place at a "press club" organized by *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* with the participation of journalists from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. A success, in my judgment, has been a permanent column in the newspaper *MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI*, featuring contributions by editors of foreign press organs.

Jointly published newspaper articles on specific issues are beginning to yield practical results with increasing frequency. Already mentioned are the articles appearing in *PRAVDA* and *RABOTNICHESKO DELO* on the Ilchevsk-Varna ferry. *SOVETSKAYA ROSIYA* and *RUDE PRAVO* jointly published reports of failures to deliver Soviet equipment; and *KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA* and the Mongolian newspaper *ZAPUCHUDYN UNEN* jointly reported a delay in the startup of the trolley line in Ulan Bator.

Our editorial staffs have gained a wealth of experience as a result of letters from readers, but unfortunately not from letters dealing with problems of interpreting life in the other socialist countries. A rare exception was a letter from Hungary published in *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in which the reader spoke out on the subject of our law on individual labor activity from the standpoint of a person with many years of experience in this area. Is it not strange that in a far-ranging discussion of issues relating to the election of enterprise leaders, for example, there was not a word by representatives of those countries in which such election procedures have been established? Polemical letters from the socialist countries in our journals and newspapers are still a rarity. Moreover, the letters of Soviet readers pertaining to the socialist community as a rule contain innocuous questions. For the present *ARGUMENTY I FAKTY* may be an exception.

From time to time articles appear in the pages of our publications containing adverse criticism of negative aspects of life by authors from socialist countries. This phenomenon is fairly new for us. Although criticism in

itself is not pleasant, such forthrightness should perhaps be encouraged inasmuch as it testifies to the growing trust that exists between our peoples and is motivated by a sincere desire to assist us in the restructuring process, even if its authors perhaps are not entirely correct. Moreover, controversy need not be embarrassing, if it is amicable and constructive.

There is one more problem in the long list—that of the official chronicle of events. Neither journalists nor their readers are particularly drawn to this kind of material. The opinion has even been expressed that a special edition should be published containing this material in order not to “dry up” the newspaper pages. Permit me to disagree. Of course, our papers contain a plethora of news items of every sort regarding trips of delegations, receptions, discussions, and the like. We cannot consider the matter, however, simply from the standpoint of the interests of the average reader. Who besides an international journalist is to discern and reveal the wealth of information that at times is to be found between the scanty lines of a TASS dispatch? Unfortunately, official news dispatches are rarely accompanied by apt and lively commentary. This is particularly true of the press clippings, which are edited down as far as possible, regarding central committee plenums of fraternal parties or meetings of the highest organs of power in the socialist countries, published virtually without comment. There is no need, of course, to comment on every occasion, but such undertakings tend to take place at very important times that are critical for the country and acquire special significance. Yet the journalists keep quiet about them.

Again, regarding political commentators specializing in the subject matter of the socialist countries. They have already turned up on certain editorial staffs, and if their voices are not particularly audible today, we may attribute this to an excess of information in the making. Our press is continually in need of analytical surveys of processes occurring in the socialist community, together with qualified consideration of the developing cooperation between us and the fraternal countries as well as of problems in the relations of the socialist, capitalist, and developing countries. Naturally, it is to be hoped that political observers will devote themselves to these global matters. We, as readers, would hope to receive from them judgments and proposals relevant to interpreting the life of the socialist countries. Let me stress the fact, however obvious it may seem, that the appearance of a new category of political commentators in no way means that our many prominent internationalists, who have previously not exactly lavished attention on the socialist countries, can continue to ignore them now “on legal grounds” of jurisdiction.

I have one last suggestion. The reader should have an opportunity to judge the competence and professional training of correspondents assigned to other socialist countries. At present it is rather difficult to do this, especially since by no means everything written by a journalist shows up in the pages of the newspaper. A characteristic calling card or, better still, a personal account for the benefit of the reader rather than the editorial staff could be presented in a sidebar devoted entirely to the correspondent's country. The correspondent would prepare the material for it, covering all relevant aspects in the life of the host country from politics to sports, using any format that is not boring. In addition, such a column could be of help to specialists studying the country. Moreover, the imbalance that still exists in reporting life in the various fraternal countries might be eliminated.

To address the issue of better coverage of life in the socialist countries is to expose difficulties that beset editors in this field. First of all there is the problem of finding space for international copy. In this connection it is probably necessary to exploit more fully the possibilities of our literary and social journals. Possibly, it would be well to have a publication on the problems of socialist countries in the form of a weekly like *ZA RUBEZHOM*, consisting of collections of articles by Soviet correspondents abroad.

In conclusion, I should like to say one more thing. The training of journalists as specialists in the socialist countries is for the most part left to chance. Apparently, this circumstance arises out of an inadequate understanding of the responsibility that rests on their shoulders. A dull, insubstantial article may cause interest to lapse in one or another country. Tactlessness or smug self-assurance that shows up on the newspaper page is an unfortunate occurrence in the relations between friends. However, there is absolutely no covert restraining factor in this responsibility to interfere with creativity. On the contrary, the opportunities in this field for the journalist to make use of his abilities, his knowledge, and his craft are practically unlimited. The subject, essentially, is today being created anew. For a long time the dullness of stereotyped hackwork and extraordinary cautiousness alienated the attention of the reader. To bring this reader back again and compel his attention to pages concerned with the life of the socialist countries is a task that is not easy. But it is one that is extremely necessary and beneficial.

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12889

Officials Chart Restructuring Course for CPSU History Studies, Institute Role

18300149a Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian 1, Jan 88 pp 135-150

[Report by F.N. Smykov, candidate of historical sciences: "The Role of the Journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Perestroyka in Party History Studies"]

[Text] This question was considered at a meeting of the Scientific Council of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute that took place on 26 October 1987. The specific and businesslike discussion was very useful not only for associates working at the journal but for all present at the meeting, who likewise have an interest in developing party history studies.

Questions concerning strengthening the contribution made by its scholars in developing the social sciences have recently been the subject of discussion in the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, and such discussions have been preceded by thorough preparation. Such was the case this time also. A special commission set up to study the work of the journal operating in a new way had been engaged with this question for almost 2 months. The conclusions and proposals of the commission were of a constructive nature.

The Journal's Position

The journal's chief editor, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.I. Kasyanenko, presented a report entitled "The Role of the Journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Perestroyka in Party History Studies." The deepening and growing perestroyka in the country, the moral-political atmosphere that it has generated in our society, and the heightened interest of the Soviet people in their history, he said, have created favorable conditions for the development of party history studies and the activation of research work, and for enhancing the journal's role in achieving a qualitatively new status for our scholarship.

There has perhaps been no other time since Lenin's time that has offered so favorable a situation for objective interpretation of the history and present-day activities of the CPSU or for the true creativity of researchers as has been created since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. Scholars have been given a unique opportunity to raise party history studies up to a qualitatively new theoretical level and significantly to enhance the effectiveness of their social functions. The editorial board, the editorial collective and the aktiv of writers at the journal regard fulfillment of these tasks as a party and civic duty, as their own contribution to the theory and practice of perestroyka and acceleration.

The speaker then talked about certain ideas on the concept of renewal in party history studies and in the journal—a concept that has resulted from the general

concept of revolutionary perestroyka of all spheres of our society, as worked out by the party. It envisages a reasonable, methodologically and politically sound renewal, substantiated by documents, in the interpretation of all periods and problems in party history, especially in the years since Lenin, and in particular those pages that were deformed under the influence of the Stalin personality cult, subjectivism, the psychology of dogmatism, and the stagnation and slowdown from the Sixties to the early Eighties; and also the exposure of their historical and epistemological roots and objective and subjective causes.

In cooperation with philosophers, historians must re-examine much of what has been associated with the understanding and exposure of objective laws in social development and their specific manifestation in the dialectical historical process and in the present perestroyka; and they must show the unity of innovation, continuity and development prospects for our society during the period through the year 2000; they must arm the present generation of researchers with the lessons of history and historical truth, paying great attention here to the correct application of the principles of historicism and the class approach when analyzing the urgent problems of the transition period and the breakthrough boundaries in our history, and also when discussing alternative programs, policies and methods in the transformations, law-governed patterns, logic and costs of the class struggle. We are obliged rather to eliminate the truly blank pages of history and provide an explanation for the distorted elucidation of events, and also "the overheating of facts," against which M.S. Gorbachev has warned.

We must research, V.I. Kasyanenko continued, all periods and major events in the history of the dialectic of the contradictions in social development and the role of the CPSU in resolving them, and not only those with positive ultimate results; we must establish the Leninist methods and Bolshevik traditions of party history studies, making use of the experience of the historians and of the practical work in the discussions of social scientists during the Twenties; and we must overcome dogmatism in thinking, and the practice of employing a nonanalytical approach and dogmatic quotation mongering, and we must do it as soon as possible. It is also important that in the dust raised by just criticism of the science of party history or of banal portrait-painting no harm is done to its theoretical and world-outlook foundations and functions. During the course of the renewal we must not permit any devaluation of true scientific knowledge in the field of the history of the CPSU and the USSR. Over the past 20 or 25 years historians specializing in the CPSU have learned how to hold a discussion in an objective and fruitful way, and how to create historiographic and critical works (reviews and critiques) that effectively influence the quality of research, publications, and lectures in the VUZ courses on the history of the CPSU. The practical work and single-minded thrust of and strict differentiation in our counterpropaganda statements need serious restructuring.

In the interests of renewal of the science and propaganda of the ideas of perestroika and acceleration, and of deepening not only economic but also ideological cooperation between fraternal parties and countries, there must be significant activation of cooperation between our journal and the history journals in the socialist countries, for now this is being effected at an insufficiently high level of professionalism and practical return.

Giving due consideration to the requirements of perestroika and renewal, the editorial board and the journal's editorial collective are doing work on all conceptual salients jointly with associates from the CPSU History Department at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. Analysis of the substance of the 20 issues of the journal since the party congress, and particularly since the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, shows that the new trends and published pieces in the journal in the spirit of perestroika are expanding, but not as rapidly and as professionally as demanded by the times. Thus, for the first time in the journal's history we are seeing on its pages simultaneous discussion on four urgent problems and directions in the history of the CPSU, namely, the historical experience of the CPSU and the times, periodization, a new textbook on party history, and the experience of the CPSU and the fraternal parties in perfecting the way of life; and discussion is starting on the urgent problems and "blank spots" in the history of the CPSU in the Sixties and Seventies.

Original articles and materials such as "Continuity and Innovation in CPSU Activity" (No 6, 1986), "First Lessons of and Urgent Tasks in Perestroika" (No 10, 1986), "Party Cadre Policy under the Conditions of Perestroika" (No 2, 1987), "Party-History Aspects of the Concept of Acceleration: Research Problems" and "An Allergy to Historical Truth" (No 4, 1987), "The Historian and Perestroika" (No 5, 1987), "Are We Not Moving away from Historical Truth?" (No 6, 1987), "On the Personality Factor in the History of the CPSU" and "The Truth of History and the Stereotypes of Dogmatism" (No 9, 1987), "The Main Landmark: Historical Truth," "Against Stagnation and the Imitation of Truth" and "The Question of the Tactics of the Unified Front 1921-1924" (No 10, 1987), "International Aspects of Perestroika," "To Overcome the Braking Mechanism and Strengthen the Link between Research and Life" and "Perestroika and Strengthening Links between Social Scientists" (No 11, 1987) and others have been published in the journal.

New columns have appeared in the journal: "The Historian and Perestroika," "The History of the CPSU within the System of the Social Sciences," "The Communist International: Re-Examining Things Anew," "Polemical Notes," "Our Questionnaire," "Readers Consider, Argue, Propose," "Perestroika: Practice, Trends, Problems," and "Tribune for the Scholar-Publicist" and others.

The editorial board and the journal's editorial collective are fully aware that this is only a modest beginning. Many mediocre materials are appearing, and an inadequate number of conceptual, historiographic, well-researched, specific historical and other articles are being published that would establish the truth of the history of the Twenties through the Forties and the Sixties and Seventies, and would rehabilitate certain party figures and scholars, including historians; that is, would promote a description of history with its victories, losses, contradictions, ideological-political clashes and personal tragedies, history with the heroism and drama of events and human destinies, in which, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the 20th Komsomol Congress, there would be no blank pages, subjectivist preferences and antipathies, and whose value would not depend on the conjunctural nature of some fad or other.¹

Differing viewpoints on individual questions of party history have recently been expressed on the pages of a number of newspapers and journals. Despite a certain lack of competence and methodological impediment, and the emotionality and inadequate standard of the discussions, published pieces on questions of history do sharpen our attitude toward the status of and the tasks of renewal in party history studies, and they draw attention to particular blank spots, deal with previously forbidden subjects, and contain many useful opinions and assessments.

Comprehending verity, living truth and the lessons of history is a complex process that requires strict observance of methodological principles and political flair. Problems such as the I.V. Stalin personality cult and its negative consequences, the repressions of the Thirties and Forties, and the deviations from Leninist precepts in the practical implementation of economic, cultural, national, legal and social-and-everyday policies require particularly careful study and unremitting attention. Here, what is needed is analysis supported by objective documents and a re-examination of many assessments and conclusions enrooted in the literature and the consciousness of historians, and a sober, party-mindedness approach with not even the slightest distortion of the truth. There will still be disputes on these issues with dogmatists and with those who support subjectivist-group interests and unscientific concepts and conjectures. Henceforth the editorial office will mobilize the efforts of authors to rid us as soon as possible of the relapses of the old diseases—ignoring the principle of historicism, remaining silent about certain phenomena, events and personalities, callous comment, jumping on the bandwagon, the drawing of premature conclusions and sensationalism. And here, we shall be strictly guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology, the lessons of truth, and the interests of real perestroika.

Renewal and perestroika in party history studies are inconceivable without preliminary critical analysis by means of historiographic and source-supported work and unless unpublished documents are made available to

scholars. Unfortunately, Kasyanenko noted, for a number of objective and subjective reasons the state of affairs along these avenues of perestroika is unsatisfactory. With the rare exception, historiographers, source researchers, critics and reviewers and archivists are taking a wait-and-see position. Historians are demanding new documents but researchers still do not have access to the necessary archives at the center and at the local level.

Despite these and other difficulties, among which the most perceptible for perestroika at the journal are inertia, the changeover of the generations of researchers and VUZ teachers, the lack of new documentary material, and the slow renewal of the aktiv of authors, the journal is effecting a turnabout toward renewal of concepts and the interpretation of historical events, and toward a re-examination of analytical-theoretical conclusions and assessments and more decisive perestroika in the way of thinking and in style and methods in the approach to researching specific major problems in all periods in the history of the CPSU. Without shying away toward extremes, and avoiding the one-sided approach, the editorial board is now focusing its attention and efforts on work on complex conceptual methodological problems, and on strengthening self-analysis in science.

Together with the philosophers, the party historians are returning to the problems of the relationship between the past, the present and the future, and to the practical utilization of Leninist methodological principles in the cognition of history and contemporary history, and the problem of the role of the popular masses and of the individual in history. For it is precisely these methodological principles that concentrate within themselves what is associated with utilization of the social experience and the lessons of truth for the purpose of perestroika and in order to determine the prospects for the perfection of socialism. The principles of class nature and historicism are inseparable from recognition of the objective nature of progress, the law-governed patterns of socialist creativity, the logic of the class and intraparty struggle, and assessment of personalities in history.

In connection with the reform of colleges and the CPSU Central Committee decree on restructuring the system of political and economic training for the workers, V.I. Kasyanenko said, the editorial board and the journal's editorial office, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the CPSU Central Committee All-Union House of Political Enlightenment have organized a discussion on the problems of the historical experience of the CPSU and periodization and a draft training program for students at evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. Articles by N.A. Barsukov and N.N. Maslov, who opened the discussion, have been published in the journal, along with the draft training program; and these are being discussed by the collectives in almost all departments of party history at the VUZ's and higher party schools. The editorial office is regularly publishing the results of these discussions.

Emphasizing that the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS is the organ of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and therefore considers its paramount duty to be to reflect in its published pieces all the directions of its scientific activity, which to some extent it does, the speaker noted that this is still being done unsystematically and primarily on the basis of personal relationships. As a result, cooperation between scientific workers at the institute and those working at the journal remains at the pre-congress, pre-perestroika stage. The creative collectives in the departments and sectors are making no effort to inform the scientific community through the journal about the results of their research; there is a lack of plans for the publication of documents stored in the Central Party Archives; up to now branches of the institute in the union republics and in Moscow and Leningrad have not become centers of perestroika or generators of initiatives and innovative publications that revive party history studies. Many historians are just waiting, placing their hopes in others, including those at the journal, forgetting that it is nevertheless a scientific research institute. Analysis of the materials published in the journal since the 27th CPSU Congress makes it possible to draw the following conclusion: the main authors are not associates of the Marxism-Leninism Institute; they account for only 23 percent of the articles published.

It is only with the help of the associates working in the Affiliates and Coordination Department at the Marxism-Leninism Institute that in recent times the leaders of institutes of party history under the central committees of the union republic communist parties have started to appear more frequently in the journal.

A situation in which the journal is used in the interests of perestroika in the subdivisions of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and its branches is quite abnormal.

The low level of participation by young people at the institute in the journal is giving rise to particular concern. Only a few young scholars (S.Ye. Grechikhov, N.Ye. Tikhonova, A.Yu. Chepurenskiy, O.V. Naumov, V.N. Shepilev, A.D. Plotnikov) are trying to publish their research results on its pages. The absolute majority of them are displaying passiveness.

Against such an inauspicious backdrop, the editorial office is particularly grateful to those associates at the Marxism-Leninism Institute who do regard the journal as their own. It offers its sincere thanks to G.M. Adibekov, V.Ya. Bondar, V.V. Gorbunov, V.I. Desyaterik, V.V. Zhuravlev, A.G. Zdravomyslov, M.V. Iskrov, Yu.K. Malov, L.M. Minayev, M.P. Mchedlov, A.A. Pavlenko, R.M. Savitskaya, A.M. Sovokin, R.V. Filippov, F.I. Firsov and the others who are active on the pages of the journal, presenting material on topical subjects.

Recalling the words of M.S. Gorbachev to the effect that perestroika is advancing new criteria and appraisals for the work of each person and each collective, in conclusion V.I. Kasyanenko emphasized the following: in order

to match up with the criteria for perestroika the collective in the journal's editorial office must significantly improve its professionalism, strengthen its combativeness and its criticism of everything that slows down or hampers the renewal of party history studies, and overcome the attitude of waiting it out and the force of inertia in many historians. Together with associates in the CPSU History Department at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, the collective of the editorial office is striving constantly to hold at the center of its activity questions such as work on fundamental problems in party history, comprehensive elucidation of the road traversed by the party, in-depth revelation of the party's leading role, particularly at turning-point stages, the dialectic of continuity and innovation in party policy, the status of and prospects for the development of party history studies, and improvements in the quality of research on and teaching of the history of the CPSU.

The Opinion of the Commission

In order to impart a truly democratic nature to the work of the commission for preparatory work on the role of the journal in perestroika in party history studies, its chairman, senior scientific associate at the institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences G.M. Adibekov said, it did not limit itself to a study of the content of journal issues and conversations with its workers but tried to take into account as fully as possible the opinion of associates at the institute. This has been of assistance in drawing objective conclusions about the status of and prospects for the work of the editorial office.

The content of the journal *VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS*, the speaker noted, undoubtedly depends largely on the scientific level of its active authors. At the same time, the position of the author on the one hand, and of the journal on the other, need not necessarily totally coincide. They may even not coincide at all. Truth is born only out of scientific polemic that is distinguished by convincing argument and integrity and high standards and the honesty of opponents. And complete truth is the goal that must be attained; if not, there is no perestroika.

Dealing with the characteristics of the journal cadres, G.M. Adibekov reported that in late 1986 certification of its associates was carried out. Acting as secretary for the primary organization of the USSR Union of Journalists [the speaker said], I happened to take part in the work of the commission. In general, the collective of the editorial office is adequately qualified. Experienced journalists and high-class editors work there. But there is also an obvious weakness: it is difficult to expect anything from them in the future.

This problem requires the special attention of the journal leadership. For it is no secret that some workers in the editorial office are short on initiative precisely because of their poor knowledge of the problems that their departments are dealing with. In order to make the journal a true organizer of perestroika in party history

studies it is essential first and foremost to raise the level of theoretical and professional training for its associates, that is, to begin perestroika with itself. And here there are many problems. It is essential to be rid of the burden of the outworn ideas of the past and the stereotypes, and to restructure thinking. Without this there can be no advance. The more so since it is difficult to explain why a scholarly journal is lagging behind other sociopolitical journals in the presentation of problems of vital importance.

Much that is outdated must also be overcome among the members of the editorial board themselves, G.M. Adibekov continued. This can be sensed both in its meetings when materials are being discussed, and in the content of recent issues of the journal, in which the spirit of perestroika is particularly noticeable. But an enormous amount of work must be done in order to overcome once and for all the timidity in the presentation of issues, and in order to make the editorial board a true generator of ideas and sponsor of new and bold approaches. Finally, it is high time to put a stop to overcautiousness about nonstandard, nontrivial solutions, proposed by authors, that are line with with historical truth; it is time to insure a truly revolutionary renewal of social sciences such as the study of Marxism, the study of Leninism, the history of the CPSU, party building, scientific communism and the history of the international communist movement. And the sooner this happens the better, because the journal is judged by how perestroika is being accomplished along all avenues of scholarly activity at the institute. This significantly increases the responsibility of the editorial board and dictates the need for its greater role in forming the content of the journal and in renewing all aspects of its work.

Today we are witnessing an unprecedented interest in the history of the CPSU. The journal, which is the head journal in this field, must satisfy this interest. But in this field only? Undoubtedly not. It is also essential to develop perestroika work in the other avenues of the social sciences represented in the journal. Incidentally, many of the institute associates with whom we spoke also say this. They consider it incorrect that some workers in the editorial office or members of the editorial board insist that all materials on the various disciplines be concerned with party history. And here we must see the contradictions between the name of the journal and the broader content of what it publishes. Obviously this contradiction must be eliminated.

The reader deserves more attention, the speaker emphasized. Meetings between workers in the editorial office and readers should be organized more frequently, and the form of those meetings should be more varied. It is essential to act more boldly in applying the different forms in which material is presented on the pages of the journal: more interviews should be published, and not only with one but with several scholars holding differing viewpoints on any particular problem; notes should be published on historical subjects, along with reviews of

readers' letters, responses to letters and so forth, and viewpoints should even be brought together in every journal issue; more letters and comments to the editor on material carried in the journal should be published; and so forth. Increased reader interest will help to increase circulation.

The question of improving links between the journal and the departments and sectors of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and its branches is a burning one. Associates at the institute very rarely appear in the journal. What is the matter? Evidently, the civic passiveness and indifference to science of many years standing are making themselves felt here; it is indifference to the affairs of the institute, including the journal; and finally, it is the lack of new approaches and the inability or reluctance to re-examine work results in a critical manner. Evidently the board of directors, the party committee, the trade union committee, the Komsomol council, the scientific council and the entire collective at the institute must draw serious conclusions from this and devise a system of measures in order to involve all scientific associates in the creative process and stimulate the efforts of those who are laboring honestly. And publication in the journal—the organ of the institute—should be included in the work plans for the departments and sectors and the workers. When summing up the results of work for the year, due consideration should be given to their work published in the journal.

At the same time, it is necessary to strive to achieve a situation in which the editorial office compiles its long-term plans (and the commission suggests that in addition to the annual plans it have 2-year and 3-year plans) on the basis of the five-year plan for the institute and its branches, taking into account the plans of a number of the USSR Academy of Sciences' scientific councils. And for associates in any scientific subdivision of the Marxism-Leninism Institute the rule should be: everything that is new should be in the journal.

The commission considers that only through joint efforts will it be possible to further raise the journal's theoretical and scientific level. There should be no waiting for the publication of, say, a multivolume series on the various problems in the history of the CPSU or for works prepared in other departments of the Marxism-Leninism Institute. The main thing is that as such works are made ready, before they are published the readers of our journal should be made aware of the main results from the creative quest by the people at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. This applies not only to collective but also individual works.

The speaker went on to emphasize that in-depth research on urgent problems in the study of Marxism and Leninism, the intraparty struggle during the transition period, processes involving the democratization of Soviet society, experience gained from the activity of ruling parties in the socialist countries, activation of the human factor, and the history of the CPSU's international activity

depends on the publication of documents. It would be ideal if the documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement were published systematically. Here, hopes are being placed in the board of directors at the institute.

The commission concluded that the collective in the editorial office of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS has embarked on perestroika and today's discussion at the meeting of the scientific council can help it to map out the road for acceleration in perestroika and make a major contribution in renewing party history studies in a way that satisfies the needs of the times and the demands of the party.

Through Joins Efforts to Renewal

Questions such as how the journal is being restructured, which things are turning out well and which not very well, whether or not it is in the vanguard of the renewal of party history studies, what its relationship is with the scholars and subdivisions of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, and how it will operate in the future were naturally the focus of attention among those present at the meeting of the scientific council. Many of those present noted that the journal has set out on the road of perestroika; they named articles and new columns in the spirit of renewal that had pleased them. It is, as they say, easier to see things properly from a little way off. But the associates in the editorial office do not flatter themselves with what has been done, and the positive statements addressed to them are regarded as a definite advance on which further work must be done. Accordingly, the critical remarks and constructive proposals on improving the content of the journal and on perestroika in party history studies were particularly valuable.

The journal is to some extent a mirror that reflects our own mistakes and shortcomings; the chief of the Marxism-Leninism Institute Party Construction Department, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.Ya. Bondar, emphasized this in his speech. We have [he said] the common diseases, including that of lagging behind life. Sometimes very acute issues arise to which we can provide no answer. Just take the problem of cadres. The party is now demanding that we pay special attention to the generalization of experience in cadre work at the various stages of history. The journal is still unable to elucidate these questions since we, the scientific associates, are still not ready to provide such materials.

In this connection I would like to remind you that at one time the Party Construction Department received permission to prepare a 3-volume history of party construction. It has not happened. But we often have to turn to various questions about the historical experience of the party in the field of party construction, which must be taken into account in the interests of perestroika in party

work under present conditions. And each time we start again essentially from zero, wasting our efforts in studying experience in organizational-party work during various historical periods.

Or take scientific work on the problems of democratization of intraparty life and all of life. Here, too, we are lagging behind the practical requirements.

Thus, being closer to life is a task both for our journal and for all associates at the Marxism-Leninism Institute.

The chief of the Affiliates and Coordination of Scientific Research Work Department at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences M.S. Iskrov, also talked about the need to further strengthen the journal's links with life. The materials from the secretaries of party committees and other leading workers published in the journal, he emphasized, do not solve this problem. Even less when they are published in the form of "single articles." It is essential to move away from cumbersome, heavy materials.

It seems that the journal's main link, and in general our institute's main link with life should move primarily along the line of strengthening contacts with party workers. Last year, for example, together with the Party Construction Department, our department held a round table discussion on the problems of party leadership in scientific and technical progress. It was attended by social scientists and party, soviet and economic workers, including the secretaries of the party raykoms of Moscow and other cities in the country. The meeting was useful for both scholars and practical workers. The journal provided, as they say, good reader information about this round table.

Now, our department, the CPSU History Department and six party committee secretaries in Moscow are making preparations for a meeting to exchange experience in perestroika and in improving the style of party work. The journal should publish accounts of these kinds of discussions as a priority, for it is here that its links with life are primarily seen.

Positively assessing the journal's perestroika work and offering numerous examples to support his opinion, the speaker paid particular attention to issue No 10. He said that not one single article in that issue fails to cut to the heart of the matter for those who really want to understand how our science is now being developed.

Dealing with questions of historiography M.V. Iskrov said that party history studies cannot advance unless it is developed. The journal has embarked on this work. But it needs help. Zonal conferences on historiography are being planned in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and the Baltic area. It would seem that if we sort out what has been done and what has not been done in work on party history and party construction, then we shall really begin to manage our science.

And again, the holding of such conferences will promote the unearthing of talented historians on which we can boldly depend, and thus will help the journal to establish a creative aktiv of authors who are the trailblazers of lively thinking in party history studies.

In his speech the chief of the Works of V.I. Lenin Sector at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences A.M. Sovokin, said that in recent years, particularly since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, the journal has begun to draw the attention of scholars more persistently to the study of the historical experience of the CPSU and its importance under the conditions of perestroika in the political, economic, social and spiritual spheres of Soviet society. Its pages have carried useful articles on the urgent tasks of perestroika, the concept of acceleration and its links with historical experience, affirmation of the moral principles of socialism, the place of the historian in perestroika, and a number of discussions on the periodization of party history, and on a handbook of CPSU history. Unfortunately, the party historians are displaying no great activity either in the discussions or in the preparation of materials for their journal. Even associates in the CPSU History Department at the institute rarely appear on its pages, and, moreover, as a rule provide no definitive articles for the journal.

Of course, the journal also bears part of the responsibility for the state of affairs in party history studies. It is failing fully to reveal the serious shortcomings in the works of party historians. It has not succeeded in directing its creative energy toward research on many of the difficult problems that have been only poorly studied.

As is known, V.I. Lenin considered the search for facts and documents from the history of the party to be the only method for finding the truth.² It is precisely along this road that the historians can reach the level of today's stringent demands, and begin serious source-based work and publish documents relating to party history that would attract the attention not only of researchers but also all those interested in these problems.

Accurate, indisputable facts are especially necessary when there is a desire for serious work on the complex and difficult questions of history or public life. Facts are the bread of historical scholarship, and when taken as a whole, with all their interconnections, they become proof positive; this is what V.I. Lenin thought, and he concluded that it is necessary to create "this kind of foundation from accurate and indisputable facts, a foundation on which it is possible to rely and with which it is possible to compare any 'general' facts or 'typical' arguments that are being so immeasurably abused... In order to make this a true foundation it is essential to take not isolated facts but *the entire aggregate* relating to the issue being examined, *without even one exception...*"³ All historians know these words of Lenin almost by heart,

but in fact no definition has been offered for what an entire aggregate of facts without even one exception means as applied to the social sciences.

I suggest that the main task is perestroika in party history studies, rebirth of the revolutionary spirit of Leninism when working on all historical problems, and writing the brilliant, truthful history of the CPSU.

Speaking about the need to increase the number of pieces on questions of intraparty democracy published in the journal, the deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor M.P. Mchedlov proposed work on the following cycle of subjects: interrelationships between the party secretary and the party bureau, party committee and party committee apparatus, that is, from below to above. He said that the floor should be given to the bureau secretary of the party organization, then the secretaries of the CPSU raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms, and the secretary of the union republic communist party central committees; and in these statements it could be shown how the relationship between the leading person and the bureau and committee in which he works is formed. A CPSU Central Committee secretary could be asked to speak on the subject of how in fact collegiality is insured in party leadership. It seems to me [the speaker said] that if we were to succeed in elucidating this problem on both the vertical and the horizontal, this would be what would be needed. Thus, it is essential to find new aspects to the range of subjects concerning the party, in particular in the matter of party construction, and to illuminate them on a scientific basis, M.P. Mchedlov stressed.

Senior scientific associate at the institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences L.F. Morozov, noted the pluses and minuses in the work of the journal and said that the problems of the transition period are being inadequately elucidated in it. Moreover, issues have been published in which there was no material on this period. What, in his view, should be elucidated? First and foremost themes such as V.I. Lenin on national exchange relations, which must be widely used during the transition period and in the age of socialism. It would also be necessary to discuss problems of economic strategy and tactics in the transition period and the question of alternatives in the building of socialism.

The speaker proposed to associates in the editorial office that they make use of the experience of the journal PROLETARSKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA which has printed interesting memoirs. It can only be welcomed, L.F. Morozov said, if the journal starts to publish the memoirs of people who took part in the Great October. It would be desirable also to publish memoirs about the building of socialism.

Improving the content of the "People. Events. Facts" column would increase reader interest in the journal. Twenty years ago interesting notes used to be published

in this column about party figures, and not only on anniversaries and not only about the most eminent figures. It is necessary to revive this tradition.

Junior scientific associate at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N.Ye. Tikhonova, said that recently the journal has been trying to comment on the acute questions that are arising in party history studies, and to offer more varied materials. There has also been a noticeable renewal of its aktiv of authors. Of course, readers expect a great deal from their journal, she continued. It is understandable that by itself the journal cannot meet these expectations if the scholars are not actively involved in perestroika. If they will provide interesting articles, the journal will also be interesting.

But some things, and important things at that, do depend on workers at the journal. This applies first and foremost to the organizational aspect. The present organization of work in the editorial office seems somehow very complicated. It is impossible to expect topicality from materials that are one-and-a-half or 2 years in preparation. The timidity of workers in the editorial office has not been overcome.

As is known, she went on to note, many stereotypes, clichés and even prejudices have been formed in science. The mass information media have taken upon themselves the mission of "breaking" these stereotypes and clichés and are focusing readers' attention on the most acute problems, for example, the personality cult, the repressions of the Thirties and Forties and so forth. Of course, elucidation of these questions is important and necessary. However, a scholarly journal probably should not focus attention only on these kinds of problems. Other issues that are just as important on the scientific plane should be raised. For example, I have not seen any striking articles on the latter half of the Forties. This situation is not quite normal, because it was after the war, when the economy was being rebuilt on peaceful lines, that perhaps the foundations of the serious problems that we are encountering today were laid. Obviously that period requires closer attention and study.

In conclusion I would like to say one more thing. Venerable scholars are now participating in the scientific discussions. For them, the periods about which they speak are for them part of their lives. And even before now they knew what was good and what was bad in those times. But the fact is that whereas previously they wrote only about positive things in those far-off years, now they are talking mainly about the negative phenomena, filling in the "blank spots."

And what does the present younger generation encounter under these conditions? We have learned from textbooks in which the history of our society has been presented mainly in buoyant tones. Now it suddenly turns out that there was nothing good about those times and that this has all been a glossing over of the reality. That is, we

must re-think everything that up to now has been presented as the history of our country and the history of our party. Certainly this educational and world-outlook aspect cannot be dismissed from sight during the discussions that are now taking place. And no matter what critical articles we may publish they should reflect life as it really was. It is not possible to paint everything only in black.

In his speech, senior scientific associate at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor R.V. Filippov said that the tasks of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS at the present stage stem from many party documents, but they have been particularly well defined in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." As far as its role in perestroika in party history studies is concerned, he continued, it amounts, in my view, to revitalization of the prestige of our science. And this means to return it to the status of a true science so that it can in fact carry out its sociopolitical functions. Only if this is done will it be possible to comply with the social order that the perestroika now being developed is placing with it.

The unenviable position in which historical science has found itself during the years of stagnation is largely associated with the fact that scholars have for too long brushed aside the "lower truths" in the name of "a benevolent deception."⁴ Now we are turning to the "lower truths," and this is a good sign of perestroika. In fact, not so long ago (for example, during the course of the discussion on the position of party history studies on specific problems of the Great October and the transition period, which was held in April 1987 in the Marxism-Leninism Institute) just one recollection of negative experience in party activity caused indignation on the part of the dogmatists, for a substantial proportion of whom the role of the historian is reduced to that of commentator on party documents and denial of the importance of studying negative experience in the cognition of history.

The fact that workers at the journal do not now accept this position is a significant sign of perestroika. But their position is a difficult one. The pressure from functionary authorities has still not been overcome; and incidentally, it might be said that this pressure is far from competent. At the same time the development of democracy is giving rise to an onslaught from below against incompetence. And in this situation it is by no means a simple matter to take a firm stance and oppose any kind of incompetence, no matter where it originates. In this connection, it would be a good thing to do serious work on the theme "the braking mechanism in party history studies."

If we talk about stereotypes, the speaker continued, they exist both in science and in the journal, and we must rid ourselves of them. For example, how were things in the journal until recently? First, everything in it had to be correct (from the standpoint, of course, of the workers in

the editorial office); second, there had to be one style and one language; third, there were no hypotheses and no emotion (as if anything can be resolved without emotion?). In the interests of fairness, it is worth pointing out that the journal has recently started to overcome these stereotypes.

The journal should provide authors with an opportunity to state their positions. Moreover, it is making inadequate use of the right of expressing attitudes toward what is published. Read the old journals, PROLETARSKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA for example, and you will see that, say, an article is published by an author whose position the editorial office does not share, and in the same issue two or three pages are given over to well-argued criticism of this position, and readers are invited to take part in the argument. In short, it is essential to have a respectful attitude toward "someone who thinks otherwise," and toward public discussions out of which the truth is born. For they are correct when they say that the right and obligation of the historian is to testify before History according to his conscience, regardless of whether or not this pleases anyone.

R.V. Filippov went on to say that party history studies cannot exist without historiography. N.V. Iskrov rightly emphasized this in his speech. But it is still assigned a subsidiary, secondary role. Apart from anything else, this neglect that we show has been born out of the crying disregard for the experience of our predecessors. As a result, at every step were are re-discovering the Americas and re-inventing the wheel. Quite often articles are published from which you cannot even learn who first posed the problem, how it was resolved and so on and so forth.

The journal is making attempts to restore historiography its rights, and serious historiographic articles on particular problems are appearing on its pages. But these are only first steps and there is no end of work here. On the one hand, there is an obvious underestimation by many scholars of historiography as a science, while on the other, there is an obvious lack of work on certain methodological problems in historiography dealing with party history. The historiographic process should be shown in all its complexity and drama, for here is a source of enormous experience in cognition of the various stages in the activity of the CPSU, a true means of stemming the stream of writings that re-discover what was discovered and studied long ago.

It is a fine thing, the speaker said in conclusion, that the journal is publishing articles on major party historians under the rubric "The Wellsprings of Our Science." But it would be desirable if they contained less of the chrestomathy and anniversary gloss and more serious analysis of the creative quest of the trailblazers of our science and showed not only their successes but also their failures.

Doctor of Historical Sciences K.K. Shirinya, a consultant at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, noted that orientation of the journal on a broader readership rather than only on CPSU historians is correct. Posing the question in this way will perhaps make clearer the demand that is being talked about here, namely, to use a variety of forms to present materials and to act with more immediacy on topical themes. From what is being published it is noticeable that now the journal itself is also leaning more toward popular scientific articles because this genre provides an opportunity to speak out more quickly on urgent issues, something that is still impossible for a large scientific apparatus. The journal's other aspirations concerning the need to pay more attention to historiography, the publication of documents, memoirs and so forth are also correct.

There are, however, questions that the journal can resolve only with help from the board of directors of the Marxism-Leninism Institute. Here, the journal has been criticized, and to some extent justifiably, for the fact that material on the international activity of the CPSU is actually published mainly on the occasion of important dates. Indeed, no constant line in work on this range of problems can be traced on the pages of the journal. The task now is to fill this gap. And to do this it is necessary to give researchers access to the appropriate archival documents.

Senior scientific associate at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences Docent D.I. Polyakova emphasized in her speech that in her view the center of perestroika at the journal should be elimination of the lacunae in the prehistory and in the various stages of party history and the removal of various kinds of deformations in party history studies. What is required is systematic, well-thought-out and detailed work in this direction by all departments in the editorial office and, in line with this, requests for articles from authors or collectives of authors who have been successfully working for a long time on particular problems.

It has already been noted that links between the journal and the social sciences departments of the VUZ's and scientific research establishments, including the branches of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, are insufficiently deep and firm, and therefore the "geography" of representation by authors on the pages of VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS is still quite narrow. Notwithstanding, it must be seen that the editorial office is making real efforts to renew the collective of authors and to recruit, in particular, specialists in civic history. I think that there is no contradiction between the journal's name and expansion of its range of subjects thanks to research in associated spheres of the social sciences. Publication of work by civic historians, philosophers and sociologists has enriched the creative potential and deepened the substantive aspects of the journal's activity.

Discussion on the pages of VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS is a long-standing tradition. It is a unique laboratory for

honing research thinking and collective quest. A discussion usually ends with an editorial article offering comment and generalizing the discussion. It seems that this is not enough. It would be desirable for the thoughts voiced in the discussions on the pages of the journal to be disseminated more widely. I suggest that a book be published on the materials in the last three discussions, namely, the historiographic experience of the CPSU, periodization in party history, and "What Kind of a Textbook Should There Be on CPSU History?"

The journal should become not only a tribune but also a school for the shaping of historians, a place to test new research approaches and the presentation of problems in new ways. It would, perhaps, be advisable to set up practical working training for young party historians in the CPSU History Department and the Marxism-Leninism Institute Council of Junior Scholars, which could be published in the journal in a special column. This would help to expand the aktiv of authors for VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS and form the next shift of scholars.

Of course, the journal will attract more attention from readers as the qualitative shifts that are already taking place deepen. D.I. Polyakova said in conclusion. But it should not be forgotten that improvement must be made in the presentation of material and the use of different genres. The columns in the journal are still quite article-oriented. And some of them, for example "People. Events. Facts," sometimes disappear from its pages for long periods, while the material that is published in that column is as a rule biographies of particular people running from "a" to "z." But surely it is possible to select interesting turning points in the fate of a person and, by using these, present material in a new way. The column "Criticism and Bibliography" is, in my opinion, also somewhat outdated and does not fully represent the new Historiography, Source Research and Scientific Criticism Department.

In his speech the deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and chief of the CPSU History Department, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.V. Zhuravlev said that the steps that the journal has taken in the field of perestroika are being evaluated. They are important steps and are imbued with optimism. But when thinking about the future of the journal we must once again give some thought to what type of journal it is. Obviously it must retain its profile as a scholarly publication. However, while remaining a scholarly journal it cannot be oriented only on the specialists. One important element of its restructuring is to combine a maximum scientific character with a good degree of popularity and to respond to the needs of a broad readership. The journal is trying to satisfy this interest. But it still has not succeeded in doing everything. Of course, party history studies in general are also to blame here, including the CPSU History Department at our institute.

The speaker went on to note that the scale and level of work on a whole series of problems at the journal are failing to satisfy not only the broad public readership but also the party historians. And at the same time the journal has not been pursuing sensationalism in the problems of party history during the transition period. On the contrary, it is important to counterbalance this sensationalism with a considered, scientific approach.

The journal has just barely set about resolving the task of revealing the dialectic in CPSU history through the dialectic of the political destinies of major party figures, including those whose destinies in the revolution and the building of socialism were complex and whose path was not unambiguous.

Given all the positive shifts, the journal still manifestly lacks boldness and acuity on the one hand, and tolerance toward nontraditional viewpoints in science, on the other. Of course, it is essential to abandon the "overheating of facts," but it is a pity when pointed but justified presentation of a particular issue is avoided. If there is a sound scientific hypothesis for some particular material that is amenable to analysis of an entire aggregate of known facts, it is essential to publish, even in cases in which the editorial board does not agree with the hypothesis.

It seems that the pivot in the journal's activity is now the problems of historiography and source research. V.V. Zhuravlev went on to say. And here there is gap and it is not the journal that is to blame; it is party histories studies in their entirety. In order to restructure this science it is essential to assess the historiographic legacy. But when attempts are made to do this the journal runs into far from simple circumstances. On the one hand, there are few trained historians capable of looking at the old historiographic baggage from new positions. On the other hand, those historians who possess the skill of historiographic analysis are frequently guided by consideration that "I shall be criticizing my own colleagues on a particular problem." To this must be added the almost incomparable laboriousness of preparing historiographic articles. Such is the sum of the objective and subjective reasons for the fact that it is very complex matter to obtain a serious article on historiography.

V.V. Zhuravlev acknowledged that the CPSU History Department at the institute is manifestly insufficiently involved in the process of perestroika at the journal. The sector chiefs in the department very rarely appear on its pages, and when they do they do not deal with basic problems. Conditions are now ripe for the preparation of material for the journal by associates in the department to be put on a planned basis. There is agreement, the speaker said, that each scientific worker in the department will mark with an article his involvement in the range of problems being covered by a multivolume history of the CPSU. These kinds of materials will be included in the plans for the department and for the journal.

The journal must decisively abandon stereotypes. A considerable number of articles by leaders in the party organizations, in the form in which they appear in the journal, cannot satisfy today's reader. Most of them are essentially accounts of the authors themselves and are frequently permeated with ideas that are local in character and hardly of interest to a broad readership. They must be presented in the form of conversations with the secretaries of, for example, party obkoms, and in such a way that they answer the questions raised by science.

There is yet another problem that I would like to deal with. The journal is a science coordinator, and it is doing something here. However, it must provide more tangible assistance for the activity of the All-Union Council on the Coordination of Research in the Field of Party History and Party Construction. For this council has now become the registrar of the randomly developing processes in party history studies that are defined by the interests of those submitting theses. In order to make it the real headquarters of science we must first and foremost devise a program of priority directions and research themes in the field of CPSU history and party construction, and discuss it broadly on the pages of the journal. And then, when such a program has been drawn up, together with the journal the council will determine which problems in party history studies should be worked on.

It was not only the speeches at the meeting of the scientific council that were imbued with a concern to further enhance the role of the journal in perestroika in party history studies. It could be sensed in the direct dealings between the workers in the editorial office and the associates from the Marxism-Leninism Institute, and in some cases was also seen in specific written proposals, as, for example, those submitted to the editorial office by senior scientific associate at the institute, Candidate of Economic Sciences A.A. Pavlenko, and senior scientific associate Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu.K. Malov.

A.A. Pavlenko proposes that more articles be published on the theoretical legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin, and also the present legacy. It is essential to fight constantly for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical legacy, he notes, and against passing things over in silence, concealment, incorrect interpretation or direct distortion of the positions of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin on any given issue; and to publish articles against bourgeois ideology and the falsification of CPSU history. The pages of the journal should also carry material on our party's historical experience; these are useful both for us under the conditions of perestroika, and for today's international communist movement.

Yu.K. Malov writes that as soon as it is a question of enhancing the role of the journal in work on urgent problems in party history studies and in further developing Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party, it is impossible to avoid the question of the place and role of the CPSU in perestroika, especially at its new, second stage,

and in its interaction with other political and economic organs under the conditions of democratization and economic independence. In other words, it is a question of the need for in-depth work on the concept of the party's leading role, which was outlined by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee that discussed the tasks of party work in insuring the main directions in the second stage of perestroika, namely, the democratization of all public life and radical economic reform.

In fact, over the past two or three years our ideas about the functions of the various public institutions and the entire aggregate of socialist social relations have been significantly enriched; it is only in the understanding of the role of the party that nothing has essentially changed. The impression is being created that only the party has not been touched by the process of qualitative renewal in Soviet society and the radical changes not only in form, style and methods but also in management and leadership principles. I think that the journal should become more actively involved in these issues, thus making its own contribution to the cause of perestroika.

It is probably high time to have in the editorial office an associate who specially, rather than on case-by-case basis, deals with questions of the ideological struggle and criticism of bourgeois ideology, as is done in many other scholarly journals, instead of assigning this work to all associates, many of whom are familiar with its specifics only from what they may have heard.

What Does Perestroika in the Scholar Mean?

In his speech, V.Ya. Bondar raised this problem in connection with the discussion of the journal's tasks in perestroika in party history studies. What does the perestroika of science, the scholar and the scientific worker mean? he asked. And he offered an answer: in the literal sense of the word, perestroika in a scholar probably means his spiritual readjustment, a change in his system of thinking, and the restructuring of his awareness, talent and scientific experience. Is it possible to resolve such a task? It is almost impossible to do this because everything that a scholar writes is his "ego," achieved through suffering and embodied in his books and articles. It would be easy to do if he had no "ego" but that would mean that the scholar is not an individual, and this would mean he has not right to call himself a scholar.

And there are still few who were saying one thing yesterday and today suddenly start speaking "the truth." In these cases there is a feeling that it is timeservers who often start to speak "truth." Striving to keep themselves in the center of public awareness, they give rise to false sensations, disregarding the requirements of scientific objectivity. Along with being truthful and writing the truth, the serious scholar has always been obligated to seek out truth and defend the accuracy of all his work.

Consequently, the speaker continued, it is not given to everyone to alter this aspect of his "ego," and indeed it is not always possible to do so. Nevertheless, we must all restructure ourselves. And what does this mean? It means that it is possible to find the answer to a question only by analyzing the essential nature of the science. I have already touched on one aspect of this essential nature. But there is another. Today's scholar is typified by a constant critical attitude toward himself and a constant search and constant dissatisfaction with himself. He cannot permit the thought that his scientific ideas are faultless and not subject to rethinking and enrichment; that is, he cannot permit the thought of his own lack of subjection to the dialectic. In other words, while remaining unalterable in terms of his essential nature, today's scholar nevertheless will be altered and will grow in the quest for truth. And it is on this that perestroika should be based.

We should start perestroika of the science with ourselves, analyzing our own working experience in order more easily to see our own shortcomings and to look more deeply at the scientific problems in which we are engaged.

V.Ya. Bondar went on to say that if we look at the work of the journal while giving due consideration to these ideas, then we can say that the journal associates have started out correctly when, as they effect perestroika, they have been in no hurry to open up their pages to those who are "restructuring themselves" too quickly but instead have recruited a number of scholars for whom perestroika does not roll easily off the tongue but is the result of serious critical re-thinking and a deepening of positions. As an example V.Ya. Bondar cited the article "The Communist Party in the Struggle for the Collectivization of Agriculture" by V.M. Selunskaya, published in issue No 9, 1987. The speaker emphasized that this article was written by an author in whom the "traditional" approach to the problem of collectivization is combined with critically weighed objectivity. V.M. Selunskaya did not abandon a single one of her previous positions but she did take a step forward in understanding the problem, and she offered a number of clarifications and re-thought certain assessments and facts in the historical process and offered a new interpretation of them. As a result, we had a serious increase in knowledge on the problem. And this is perestroika. There was no sensation, but rather science.

The same thing can be said about articles such as V.A. Kozlov's "The Historian and Perestroika" (No 5, 1987), O.T. Bogomolov's "The Socialist Way of Life: Paths of Renewal," N.A. Barsukov's "The Turning Points and Main Periods and Stages in the History of the CPSU" and R.V. Filippov's "Are We Avoiding Historical truth?" (No 6, 1987), and others. There is nothing false in these articles; they were written honestly; and this is also perestroika. For the essential nature of perestroika for each of us is to be honest in all things, great and small.

The task of the journal is henceforth to support such authors and to seek out new, young, honest researchers who speak the truth, analyze questions in depth and draw well-argued conclusions.

Dealing with the problem of perestroika in the scholar, A.M. Sovokin was in disagreement with certain things said by the previous speaker. I suggest, he said, that V.Ya. Bondar has been carried away when he asserts that perestroika for the scholar is a restructuring of this awareness, talent and scientific experience, while revising his own work, he says, deprives him of the right to call himself a scholar. It is hardly possible to share this position. In fact, in his own research the scholar sets himself one task, namely, the quest for the truth, the quest for real facts and irrefutable proofs that make up the base and foundation of any party history study. And if in the work of the scholar the factual aspect in a matter fails to correspond with the historical reality, this means that the conclusions drawn on their basis are incorrect. In this case the scholar not only can but must revise his earlier opinion and say frankly how he erred and what conclusions he has reached on the basis of the new facts that were previously unknown to him.

In this connection I would like to emphasize that in life we hardly meet people, including scholars, who do not make mistakes. The unfortunate thing is that a person makes a mistake and then stubbornly persists in it. And the clever person is not the one who does not make mistakes, for such people simply do not exist, but the one who rarely makes serious mistakes, and when he does recognizes and corrects them. This is what V.I. Lenin taught us.

R.V. Filippov also talked about his attitude to the understanding of the problem of perestroika. He disagreed with V.Ya. Bondar's assertion that today's scientist is always "obligated to be truthful" when initially he has scarcely fallen into the arms of truth and if he alters his views then can no longer be considered a true scholar. Pointing to eminent scholars who have more than once altered their views on particular problems, the speaker noted that a change of view in an historian is not always determined by ideas of a conjunctural nature but sometimes stems naturally from the very nature of scientific cognition.

At the same time, the thought expressed by V.Ya. Bondar on the need to deal with timeservers in science was unanimously supported by those present at the meeting of the scientific council. Moreover, M.P. Mchedlov proposed that the journal speak out against those who jump on the bandwagon in science without concern for objectivity and the scientific approach, and try always to be ahead of progress.

The director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, G.L. Smirnov, focused attention on the need for perestroika among social scientists. Noting the importance of the way in which this problem is presented, he emphasized

the certain vagueness in the discussion on perestroika among scholars. It seems to me, he said, that we should not deny anyone the right to perestroika. Moreover, we are all obliged to restructure ourselves. The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev talks of this tirelessly. And, G.L. Smirnov continued, in the process of perestroika we should certainly relinquish certain favored formulas and positions that we have proclaimed and defended at one time.

Of course, when what we have in mind is the specific kind of statements that V.Ya. Bondar talked about, statements imbued with a spirit of jumping on the bandwagon, here it is essential to be specific in investigating them. With respect to those who are prepared to support the outdated positions where we stood 5 or 7 years ago, it will be very difficult for them.

The Document Base: the Foundation of Historical Science

No statement was made at the meeting of the scientific council that did not to some degree touch on the question of the document base for party history studies. And this is natural, for without it historical science cannot develop. All those speaking were united in saying that the journal publishes far too few documents. And here we review the viewpoints on why this happens. Deputy chief of the Party Central Archives at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Candidate of Historical Sciences Docent V.V. Anikeyev, offered one such viewpoint.

Compared with other social sciences journals, he said, our journal finds itself in a very advantageous position because the Marxism-Leninism Institute does have the kind of document base that no scientific research institute in the country with its own press organ has at its disposal. However, few documents are published on its pages.

He named documents in the Central Party Archives at the Marxism-Leninism Institute that in his opinion would enable the journal *VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS* to conduct a systematic and purposeful publication of them and provide overall and problem- or subject-oriented surveys. Among them V.V. Anikeyev named documents of the top party organs, in particular the following:

—materials from the 5th and 6th Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party conferences, and plenums of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee from March 1918 to 1922, which as a rule were held under V.I. Lenin's leadership;

—the records of proceedings at meetings of the Council of People's Commissars 1917 through 1921;

—documents sent to V.I. Lenin during the period 1917-1922 on questions of economic, state and party building, leadership in the combat actions of the Red Army

against the joint forces of domestic and external counterrevolution during the civil war, and on questions of foreign policy and the international communist movement;

—documents relating to V.I. Lenin's correspondence and correspondence between the central establishments that he led and the local organizations of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party during the years of reaction (1907-1910);

—documents relating to the organizational activity of the party central committee during the period of preparation for the October; the financial documents, and also the certifications and mandates, of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee entrusted to members of the Central Committee and sent out to the localities or received from the provinces, and the correspondence between the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the local party organizations during the decisive months of the civil war (July through December 1919) and during the period of preparation for the New Economic Policy (NEP) and its initial stage;

—correspondence between the members of the Ulyanov family through 1917 inclusive;

—materials on individual plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, particularly those connected with the strengthening of the fraternal parties and the creation of a united front;

—documents of the regional bureaus of the party central committee, in particular the Caucasian, Central Asian, Northwest, Southeast, Urals, Siberian and Far East bureaus and the bureaus of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee for the Baltic republics, and also the regional bureaus of the CPSU Central Committee during the Fifties and Sixties.

After naming certain other documents, V.V. Anikeyev concluded his address by expressing doubts that all of this could be published in the journal given its present size. He raised the question of recruiting for the preparation of documents for publication associates in all the departments and sectors of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, and also the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the Moscow Higher Party School.

A very cheerful picture, is it not? It turns out that everything is in favor of the journal. It has such riches to hand, such opportunities and splendid prospects. It is even suggested that the size of the journal be increased in order to cope with the publication of the flood of documents that any time now will be pouring out from the Central Party Archives.

What is the situation in fact? This is what V.V. Zhuravlev said about this at the meeting of the scientific council.

Here, V.V. Anikeyev has pictured the kind of program for the publication of documents that is evoking great optimism. But he is proposing his own game rules for the journal: you can have this from our bountiful generosity, and this, and this... But it seems to me that the level of discussion should be different. Together with the Central Party Archives and the CPSU History Department, the journal must select the documents that are the most important and necessary for the science. And then the question of publication can be resolved.

Previously, V.V. Zhuravlev continued, as soon as they were found and placed in the Central Party Archives, all new documents relating to Lenin were published in our journal and rapidly became known to the scientific community and all Soviet people. But for some time this regular situation has been changed. The Works of V.I. Lenin sector at the institute started to "accumulate" new documents for the next Leninist anthology and, consequently, their publication has been delayed for years. And if individual Leninist documents have appeared in print before publication of the next Leninist anthology, it has not been in our journal.

At one time the journal published information each year on new accessions of documents to the Central Party Archives. Now this has disappeared, and under the conditions of the present situation historically, this is intolerable.

Previously, there was constant publication of surveys of documents in the Central Party Archives. Now there are none. The situation must be corrected, V.V. Zhuravlev stressed.

In fact, the present situation with the research document base is causing justified censure from party historians. On the one hand they have no access to many archive sources, while on the other the journal is publishing few documents. The journal must be provided with assistance in preparing documents for publication; this is what M.V. Iskrov thought. It seems to me, he said, that every issue should include the publication of some document. A.M. Sovokin fully shared this viewpoint. How is it possible to research a particular problem without the documents? he asked. The speaker expressed the hope that the scientific council will also draw the proper conclusions regarding the subdivisions of the institute and determine what they must do in creating a document base for CPSU history and the publication of documents.

Here, the need has been repeatedly stressed for expansion of the research source base and the lifting of the restriction on a number of archive stores, said D.I. Polyakova. There is no doubt that study of archive documents and an analytical reading of them constitute an indispensable condition for the activity of the scholar and a guarantee for the greater evidential nature of articles offered to the journal.

But even the sources to which we do have access—published stenographic reports and the minutes of proceedings of party congresses—in turn open up many heuristic opportunities for new approaches in science, for the reconsideration of incorrectly presented historical subjects in the literature, and for elimination of the "blank spots" and the depersonalization of history. However, we are still being hampered by our usual timidity in thinking and the inertia of established assessments and ingrained judgments.

Timidity with respect to party documents is cultivated by our work with the sources, R.V. Filippov remarked. The well-known source expert M.A. Varshavchik is of the opinion, he continued, that documents of the higher party organs may be subject only to commentary and cannot be subjected to critical analysis. This is an antiscientific presentation of the issue. And I am convinced that whoever is guided by this theory, even when everything in our archives is at his disposal, will offer the thinnest gruel from which we can derive nothing new and in which we cannot see the truth of history.

K.K. Shirinya said that for comprehensive and honest elucidation of the international activity of the CPSU and its role, for example, in the Communist International, it is necessary to rely on a broad range of sources and essential to bring into scientific circulation archival materials that up to now have been inaccessible or accessible only with difficulty for researchers, and even for the associates at our institute. The obstacles and barriers on the road to the use of archival materials are hampering scientific quest. This issue must be resolved otherwise we shall advance only slowly.

Comintern materials held in the Central Party Archives indicate that the CPSU representatives in that organization raised many questions of an international nature in a deep and correct manner, and submitted interesting specific proposals. As a rule, even during the period when the Executive Committee of the Communist International was following a leftist course, many of the decisions and recommendations of the Comintern and of the CPSU delegation were distinguished by their high theoretical level and were enduring in the political sense. At the same time, however, there are documents indicating incorrect methods, and they helped in resolving the discussions in our party in Stalin's time, when opposition was unambiguously assessed as statements by a class enemy. These documents are also essential for researchers so that the truth may triumph in their scientific work.

Winding up the discussion on the publication of new documents in the journal, it is essential to emphasize the presence of an exaggerated sense of caution and overcautiousness in this matter on the part of the leadership in the Central Party Archives at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. Of course, here some of the blame lies with the workers in the editorial office; they evidently are not showing sufficient activeness and persistence. V.I. Kas-yanenko also spoke of this at the meeting of the scientific

council. True, recently the editorial office has started to print on a regular basis the minutes of proceedings at meetings of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars. In issue No 10 of 1987 Minute No 1 of 15 November 1917 appeared, and minutes Nos 2 and 3 of the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars were published in the November issue. The scientific community greeted these publications with interest. But the following must be said here. Of course the journal is limited in terms of its opportunities. V.V. Anikeyev was right about this. It would take, for example, at least 10 years to publish all the minutes of proceedings for the meetings of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars during Lenin's period. And so we should not orient ourselves only on the journal for the publication of documents; anthologies should also be published.

Along with an expansion of the publication of documents we should not forget another important route for expansion of the source base, namely, researchers' familiarization with archival materials through document surveys. Of course, this work is extremely laborious because it is question of looking over dozens, and sometimes hundreds of documents in order to select the most valuable. This work cannot be done in spare time but must be done on a planned basis.

Focusing Attention Mainly on the Urgent Problems

The meeting of the scientific council was brought to a conclusion by the institute director G.L. Smirnov. The discussion of the work of our journal, he said, has been multifaceted, businesslike and comradely. And it will undoubtedly help the editorial board and the editorial office in resolving the tasks of perestroika in party history studies. Given all the problems and shortcomings that have been discussed here, the journal is advancing a little ahead of the CPSU History Department. And in general I think that this is how it should be: the journal is obliged to be the pioneer of perestroika. And with help from the CPSU History Department at the institute its workers are striving conscientiously to carry out the tasks assigned to them.

In a whole series of published pieces, including the measures implemented by the institute starting from the April 1987 citywide discussion of party history and by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the journal has been giving an idea of the developments in thinking on party history. As has already been noted here, the turning point in its work toward perestroika has been particularly noticeable from issue No 5 of 1987. It was precisely this issue that showed that finally the editorial office had felt itself on firm ground and had found the authors who are capable of presenting issues in sharp relief and at the same time profoundly and in a businesslike manner.

After naming a number of articles that are in line with the spirit of perestroika, the speaker dealt with the discussion on the problems of periodization in CPSU

history that the journal is conducting. This is a very necessary matter, he noted. It must be continued and it is essential to reach deeper bases for periodization. Those taking part in the discussion expressed the right thought that it is impossible to use the calendar or the party congresses as a basis for periodization. It is scarcely advisable to orient ourselves only on documents. What is needed is objective analysis of the relationship between documents and actual history, that is, it is essential to turn to the activity of both local and central party organs, and to development problems in the political sphere, culture and so forth. In short, the aggregate and the entirety must be taken as the reality.

At this meeting many pieces of valuable advice and proposals have been offered on further improving the work of the editorial offices and enhancing the content of the journal, G.L. Smirnov said. I suggest that its associates make use of them. Nevertheless, the main task for the journal is to concentrate on the problems of CPSU history that have not yet been fully elucidated. And for the CPSU History Department at the institute this is the priority task. Without thorough work on these problems it is impossible to talk seriously about perestroika in party history studies. And both in the editorial office and in the CPSU History Department at the Marxism-Leninism Institute these problems have been quite clearly defined. Some are already being discussed on the pages of the journals while others are being clarified.

Take, for example, the pre-October period. Which problems here require additional research? They are primarily the relationship between Bolshevism and its predecessors, particularly the Narodniki. It is evidently high time to clarify what the Bolsheviks borrowed from their legacy and what they discarded. There is more. There are, of course, the problems connected with the 6th (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. As is known, the "Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)" flies in the face of historical truth when it asserts that this conference "laid the foundation for the party of the new type" when in reality the emergence of Bolshevism is associated with the 2nd Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

There is no doubt that deeper work is required on the events of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and not so much because of our internal requirements but rather the international requirements. For up to now a version exists and is being disseminated to the effect that during the period of the October Trotskyi supposedly played a "special role." It is common knowledge that in the article "The Lessons of the October" he asserted that in fact the October Revolution supposedly took place on 9 October, when the Petrograd Council decided not to withdraw revolutionary-minded troops from Petrograd and thus, he says, decided the victory.

There are the problems of war communism and NEP, whose distortions have now assumed enormous scale. The label of war communism is attached to everything

that people want to compromise. Meanwhile, the policy of war communism was a policy that saved the young Soviet republic. NEP was the same. Of course, this was not a period of paradise in our country's history but a period of quest and fierce class struggle.

Questions concerning the ideological-theoretical struggle in the Twenties demand the closest attention from researchers. There is a very complicated knot here. It was virtually the epicenter of the ideological peripeteia, the ideological roads of our party. If we investigate these questions as they should be we shall have a better idea of what later unfolded against the backdrop of history. Because it was precisely then that the fierce struggle started on the most important questions concerning the creation of the new society, precisely then that the concepts were being developed for the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, and when the different viewpoints were seen on the question of ways to switch the peasantry onto the rails of socialism. Take just the discussion between Preobrazhenskii and Bukharin on initial accumulation. On the theoretical level it is, strictly speaking, central, the key to the problem of industrialization and the country's further development, thanks to which it is possible to understand much in the subsequent behavior of the various groups in our party.

These are the problems of industrialization and collectivization, which, of course, cannot be elucidated by two or three articles but must be thoroughly worked on. It is essential to bear in mind that it was during that period that the greatest numbers of abuses of power occurred. Historians know that at first I.V. Stalin, who had spent about 3 weeks in Siberia, used methods of repressions during the course of the grain procurements, and then L.M. Kaganovich, who had been dispatched to the North Caucasus, arrested dozens of party raykom secretaries.

In this connection, of course, the figure of Stalin again appears. We shall obviously return to him again and again. This is required by the interests of developing party history studies. And of course, there can be no unambiguous assessment here. It is now known that many of the illegal acts and repressions were perpetrated not simply with Stalin's knowledge but at his initiative. At the same time, it is incorrect to reduce Stalin's role merely to repressive measures because he was associated with the triumph of the policy of industrialization and collectivization and with saving our motherland during the clash with Hitlerism. We have defended and shall defend these positions, and in this regard we probably have no need of restructuring.

The list of poorly studied problems could be continued. But as I have already said, they are well known to workers in the editorial office of the journal and in the CPSU History Department. The main thing is that there be no formalism in the approach to their elucidation. Let us say that an article on a particular problem has been published and the matter is ended. Like completing an

exercise. No, not if it is necessary (and in most cases it is) to return to the problem not once or twice but perhaps 10 times. It is not mandatory that these articles all be 13 to 15 pages long. A point can be made in three pages, but we make it 13 or 15 pages in order to draw attention to it. There is no need to fear brevity. And space in the journal will be freed up to cover other subjects.

Dealing with tasks in perfecting the style of work among associates at the journal, G.L. Smirnov emphasized that it is essential to make an end to the practice of dressing up authors' articles "as the editor would like it." And it is particularly intolerable when an editor writes a "lead-up" for an article to soften the sharpness of an author's presentation of a problem. This occurs most often with young scholars.

In general the role of the editor under present conditions, particularly in a scholarly journal, should amount primarily to organizing the material, showing initiative in the presentation of problems, and providing methodological assistance for the author, and not striking out commas and changing words with a minus sign to ones with a plus sign.

G.L. Smirnov then made a number of remarks about the draft thematic plan for what is to be published in the journal in 1988. The plan needs major reworking, he said. First, the very formulation of the themes is so general that it is impossible to see the problems and their presentation and the point behind them. Second, it is necessary to pay more attention to the problems of the transition period. They require a reiterative and comprehensive and more refined approach. In general it is now clear that the bans on the discussion of problems and the use of family names are being lifted. We must throw open the archive materials for perusal and work, and this means that much will have to be re-thought. Third, the number of pieces on questions of democracy planned for printing is quite inadequate. And what is there is too general.

Talking about the "Criticism and Bibliography" column G.L. Smirnov said that the journal must either abandon the review genre or radically change it. If there is a problem with a book, then review it. If there are no problems, print an annotation when it is published; that is sufficient. But do not waste pages on offering compliments. Of course, there are some very fine books. In such cases there is no need to spare the compliments. But as a rule they should not be used.

In conclusion, dealing with mutual relationships between the Marxism-Leninism Institute and the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS G.L. Smirnov noted that they are now normal and businesslike. We do not involve the editorial office in our day-to-day line of behavior and we not worry about the small things, but at the same time we do discuss questions of principle, he emphasized. We also hope that this discussion in the scientific council

will help journal workers to participate in an even more confident and skilled manner in the process of perestroika in party history studies.

A resolution adopted by the scientific council emphasized that a central place in what is published by the journal should be occupied by research on meagerly aspects of Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, problems of the party's ideological-theoretical struggle during the transition period, party cadre policy, party leadership in perestroika, the multifaceted links between the historical experience of the CPSU and the present-day world revolutionary process, and questions concerning historiography and source work on party history and the struggle against bourgeois, social-reformist and revisionist distortions of CPSU history.

Footnotes

1. M.S. Gorbachev. "Youth: the Creative Force of Revolutionary Renewal. Speech at the 20th Komsomol Congress 16 April 1987." Moscow, 1987, p 29.

2. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 23, p 68.

3. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 30, pp 350-351.

4. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 30, p 351.
09642

Unpublished Manuscript Reveals Admiral Isakov's Views of Stalin, Beria

18300159 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 21 Jan 88
p 4

[Report on interview by Leonid Gurunts with Admiral Isakov, Peredelkin, February 1980: "At Admiral Isakov's"]

[Text] Today the prominent Armenian writer Leonid Gurunts would have been 75 years old. His books are widely known throughout the country, and his masterfully-crafted short stories, which have appeared periodically in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA are treasured by tens of millions of Soviet people.

Our newspaper had a long and friendly creative association with Leonid Karakhanovich, the result of which were the novels, essays and thoughts of the writer which were frequently published in the pages of KOMMUNIST.

The manuscripts preserved in the writer's archives are of broad public interest. In reading them we are once again convinced that Leonid Gurunts was a socially active, thoughtful and talented person.

Today we would call your attention to one of the writer's unpublished manuscripts, which previously could not be published.

I had long intended to write of my single meeting with Admiral Ivan Stepanovich Isakov. I am unable to forgive myself for the fact that on that day I was in a hurry to go somewhere, and that this meeting was a brief one.

Ivan Stepanovich himself wished to see me. I was informed of that at the USSR Union of Writers in Moscow, and I immediately set out to visit him at his apartment on Smolenskaya Naberezhnaya.

Isakov was ill, and was living out the last months of his life. He was working on a book about Admiral Serebryakov, but fearing that he would be unable to complete it, he wished to familiarize me with his creative plans in order that I might finish writing the book.

Ivan Stepanovich did not give me the impression that he was seriously ill, and I flatly refused the co-authorship.

"Well all right. Take these books." He handed me a pile of books on naval topics. "Familiarize yourself with them, and on your next trip to Moscow I will give you what I've written."

We agreed to do that, but Ivan Stepanovich did not live until the next meeting; he died a month later, leaving a portfolio of manuscripts addressed to me. But that portfolio never reached me...

In all, I spent three hours at Admiral Isakov's, but the impression of that meeting was etched upon my memory for life.

I knew that Stalin was kindly disposed toward him, and I wanted to find out what he thought about "Our Great Patriarch."

Ivan Stepanovich did not immediately reply to my question. "Why don't we have a cup of coffee?" he said.

His wife brought two cups of coffee on a tray, and we began to drink the scalding liquid in silence.

It seemed to me that the admiral would decline to talk about Stalin and that after the coffee he would change the subject.

But Ivan Stepanovich himself began to tell the story:

"I met with Stalin 42 times..."

"Forty two times? And you recall all 42 meetings, no more and no less?" I asked.

Ivan Stepanovich smiled sadly: "Kuznetsov and I survived, because we had divined his character... He was a knowledgeable person," the admiral went on. "We would speak with him on matters as with a specialist and he understood a great deal. But Stalin did not trust us either. During our talk he would suddenly return to a conversation which took place three or four years ago. We had to remember and respond in the very same way that we had spoken before. Kuznetsov and I kept a record of our meetings. Before going to Stalin when we were called, we would memorize which questions he had asked during our last meeting, and at the one before that... Once he returned to a conversation which had taken place nearly ten years ago. And I said the very same thing that I had ten years ago. Stalin smiled behind his mustaches: 'You repeated it word for word; you did not forget a thing.'"

I asked the admiral whether I could take a look at these records. Ivan Stepanovich took a long time to answer.

"I burned them," he said, "during the years of Khrushchev's rule. He was not very kindly disposed toward us, Kuznetsov and me. And I did not want those records to fall into his hands.

"Not many people knew of the fickle, suspicious character of Stalin," the admiral took up his story again a moment later. "The most trusted person, for one moment, for accidentally dropping a word, could call down suspicion upon himself. That is what happened with Sergeychuk, a hero of the Spanish Civil War, a man who was close to Stalin. He was a flier who understood aviation well, and Stalin often turned to him when the conversation concerned kinds of aircraft, and asked his opinion. But we were rather amazed at that young man's behavior as Stalin received us. He permitted himself to move from place to place, and even to enter the conversation without permission. When the topic once again turned to aviation, Sergeychuk burst from his seat: 'Comrade Stalin! Give us aircraft like the Messerschmidt, and we'll give Hitler himself something to smoke.'

"Stalin did not yet say a thing; he did not utter a word; nor did he skewer Sergeychuk with his fixed gaze, the meaning of which we well knew, as the oppressive silence pinned us down.

"Stalin got up, came out from behind his desk, and walked up and down the room. And not looking at Sergeychuk, he said in a strained voice: 'You said a bad thing, young man; a bad thing...'

"We never saw Sergeychuk again.

"I recall another episode like that," said Ivan Stepanovich after a long pause. Each of us had his own definite place, an armchair upon which we sat. We were not supposed to speak with one another, nor to move from place to place. No one had ever told us that; it simply came about by itself. Only Beria, a habitue of all the

meetings, could permit himself to behave as he saw fit: he paced the office from end to end, softly whistling to himself. He showed no interest in any question under discussion. And he did not try to hide his lack of interest. During the sessions he would frequently speak to Stalin in the Georgian language, calling him Koba.

"On that day the armchair on which Artillery Commanding General Voronov normally sat was vacant. Thinking that he had been delayed, we were expecting him to come any minute. But time passed, and there still was no Voronov."

"Where is Voronov?" said Stalin, looking at his watch. Stalin turned to us. "Why is he late?"

"We kept silent. We knew one thing: if Voronov was alive, he wouldn't dare be late for an appointment with Stalin."

"Stalin asked again: 'I'm asking you, where is Voronov?'"

"No answer was forthcoming. We sat, holding our breath, guardedly glancing at the empty armchair."

"Lavrenty, he's not at your place, is he?"

"Beria, pacing about the room, tossed over his shoulder, 'He's at my place.'"

"Stalin gave him a withering look, and we saw how Beria wilted; even his stature became smaller."

"Will he be here tomorrow?" asked Stalin.

"Tomorrow, no," replied Beria, not knowing what to do with his hands, or with the rest of himself.

"The day after?" pursued Stalin, skewering Beria with his fixed stare.

"The day after tomorrow he will be here. That's certain."

"The meeting was postponed until the day after tomorrow. And on the appointed day we once again appeared for the reception. This time the tall, spare artillery officer was sitting in his place, having lightly powdered the dark bags under his eyes."

"Stalin, casting a reproachful glance at Beria, said, 'Let's begin, Comrades,' and addressing Voronov by his name and patronymic offered him the first word."

"Stalin was neither an ignoramus nor a dilettante," continued Admiral Isakov. "No matter what the topic of conversation at the meetings, he had detailed knowledge about everything and inserted his own corrections in a businesslike manner. And he did not know fatigue! A meeting could go on for four or five hours. Once a meeting dragged on and on. Stalin took up the discussion

of still another question which might have occupied several hours; but suddenly he turned to me, and smiling said: 'That's enough for today! You, apparently, are tired. Why don't I show you a new Charley Chaplin film? I haven't watched it yet; we'll watch it together.'"

"The participants began to rise from their armchairs. But my leg had apparently fallen asleep; it would not obey me, and I could not get up out of my chair right away. With amazing agility Stalin came up to me, helped me get up, and taking me by the arm, set off for the rear exit from the office, beyond which there stretched a long, long corridor, with high bare walls, and brilliantly lighted—so that one was unable to see anything around oneself. I walked uncertainly, not seeing the floor; it seemed that I would fall into a bottomless pit at any moment. Barely visible in the corners were the statue-like silhouettes of guards."

"It was the first time that I had found myself one-on-one with Stalin, and while we walked along the corridor I did not know what to say to him. It was excruciating to be in the brilliant light and to be walking like the blind, unable to see anything under one's feet."

"I said, 'Isn't there too much light?'"

"Stalin didn't answer right away: 'You mean to say, isn't there too much security?'"

"Yes, that too, I suppose."

"Stalin once again paused before answering. Then slowly, barely audibly he spoke in a strained voice: 'The trouble is not that there is so much light and so many guards. The trouble is that I do not know which of them is capable of what.'"

"In my opinion," Ivan Stepanovich finished his story, "Stalin's mistrustfulness and suspiciousness went beyond all bounds. Nor was it hard to guess that the blinding light in the corridor was also brought on by his suspiciousness."

"Concerning his 'special love' for me or Kuznetsov," the admiral went on, "that is a delusion. Either of us could have become a victim, for committing the tiniest infraction in dealing with him. In our dealings with Stalin, Kuznetsov and I were extremely guarded and perspicacious."

I asked the admiral about Beria: What kind of person did he seem to be? Why did he permit himself so many liberties in Stalin's presence?

Ivan Stepanovich shrugged his shoulders: "That is one of the riddles which Stalin took with him to the grave. That he permitted himself many liberties is putting it mildly," the admiral went on. "At times he behaved as if he were Stalin's master, at others as his servant. As I've already said, he would be bored to death at our sessions, which

were of little interest to him. During those times he would not only pace the floor from one end of the office to the other, or unceremoniously take up a conversation with Stalin in the Georgian language, he also permitted himself all kinds of scabrous remarks, upon which Stalin would avert his eyes with embarrassment or softly rebuke him: 'Go on, go on, Lavrenty; take a stroll if you find us tiresome.'

"But it also happened that a single glance from Stalin could turn Beria into a mouse, looking for a crack in which to hide. For those of us who knew Beria well," the admiral went on, "it remained a riddle how he was able

to attract Stalin or even have influence with him; such a good-for-nothing little man, who, if he possessed anything at all, it was lust alone."

These notes, like many others which I had taken before this, will of course, never see the light. I am not writing them for the present day and not for the press. I am like the cosmonaut who, going into orbit, is no longer subject to earthly gravity. I am happy with such freedom, as if I had grown wings and could fly and fly, knowing no encumbrances.

09006

Kiev, Moscow Announce Plans for Upcoming Millennium Celebrations

18000231 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Belikov and S. Tsikora: "Ten Centuries Later"]

[Text] The year 1988 commemorates the thousandth anniversary of the conversion of Ancient Russia to Christianity.

Kiev

The chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. Kolesnik, has informed IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the Patriarch Exarch of the Ukraine, the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia Filaret has requested assistance in preparing for a series of events in Kiev 14-17 June in celebration of the thousandth anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

It is expected that about 150 high-ranking guests of the Russian Orthodox Church out of the number invited to attend the jubilee cathedral celebrations in Moscow will visit Kiev. There will be a memorial service at the Cathedral of St. Vladimir, and a wreath will be laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. There will also be a visit to the well-known subterranean shrines of the Kievian Cave Monastery. The Kiev celebrations will feature a procession to the memorial of Grand Prince Vladimir.

And how is the city—"the mother of Russian cities"—preparing for the occasion? The responsibility is that of the city's Council for the Preservation of Historic Areas.

"The renovation and even the restoration of some ancient areas in their entirety is under way," said V. Zgurskiy, chairman of the city executive committee. "To the two existing protected historic sites—the world-renowned Kievian Cave Monastery and the Cathedral of St. Sophia—we have added one named Ancient Kiev. It includes the entire area described in the Nestor Chronicle as the place 'from which the Russian lands have been extended.'"

Here, too, is the hill on which Old Kiev is situated with the Palace of Princess Olga, the first stone temple built in Ancient Russia, and the chambers of the princes and boyars, as well as the segregated section described in the chronicles for potters, tanners, and distillers of tar. The first street in Ancient Russia known to us by name is here—Borichev Uvoz, now known as Uzvoz Andreyevskiy.

Work is continuing in 1988 as well on the restoration of that gem of ancient Russian and Ukrainian architecture, the magnificent Cathedral of the Assumption of the Kievian Cave Monastery, which has still not fully recovered from the wounds inflicted upon the city during the war.

Moscow

A year ago IZVESTIYA reported on the work going on in the Danilov Monastery, the oldest in Moscow, where the administrative center of the Russian Orthodox Church is being constructed for the thousandth anniversary of the conversion of Ancient Russia to Christianity. What is the situation today?

A. Savin, chief of the City Administration for Supervising the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments, in response to this question replied:

"The construction and restoration work of the first phase, which is within the walls of the monastery, is nearing completion. A new two-story building has been erected for the Patriarch. The so-called 'abbot' and 'friar' buildings, which were erected in the last century, have regained their original appearance. The marvelous Trinity Cathedral, which was built 150 years ago by the well-known architect O. Bove, has been renovated.

"I should like to point out that, since the first day of restoration work on the monastery, strict scientific and artistic supervision has been maintained over the day-to-day operations of the restorers, so as to preserve the nature of the design by the creators of the architectural composition in complete accordance with the original and in strict observance of its characteristic style. Soon a commission of specialists in charge will gather to institute formal acceptance proceedings of the work done on the Danilov Monastery as a whole.

"Most of the structures designed for cult purposes in Moscow which are more than three centuries old are no longer used for their original purposes," A. Sabin continued. "All these have been put under state protection. Out of all the architectural antiquities that have been restored, about a hundred of them are in use as museums or exhibition halls. And those with the proper dimensions and, most important, superior acoustical properties, suitable for concerts, have been turned over for presentation of musical evenings and performances by choral groups. Among these new centers of Moscow cultural events, I can name the Greater Church of the Ascension by the Nikita Gates, associated with the names of A. S. Pushkin and his wife, N. Goncharova. On New Year's Day a science laboratory was removed from here at last, making it possible to begin to restore the magnificent building.

In the neighborhood, on Herzen Street near the conservatory, is located the Lesser Church of the Ascension, which is scheduled to be restored and put in order in the course of 1988. Thereafter it will accommodate the exhibition hall of Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon.

In addition, quite a number of locations in the center of the capital city and its environs could be named where artists, restorers, and builders, with the active assistance of volunteers from the Moscow area, are at work, in

wood and stone, through the medium of wall paintings and decorative motifs, recreating the beauty that has come down to us from our forefathers.

12889

Laws Uphold Parent's Right to Allow Child Religious Upbringing

18000242 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 p 2

[Letter from student A. Buchasov, from Vladivostok: "...While the Son Kneels; A Family Falls Apart. The Court Decides the Child's Fate. Is Justice Always Served?" under the "Subject for Deliberation" rubric; first part, excerpts from a conversation; last three paragraphs, editorial comment in boldface]

[Text] "Tell me Valentin, who is Grandfather Frost?"

"It's an unofficial angel."

"Do you know any nursery rhymes?"

"I forgot the nonreligious ones, but I know religious ones."

"Does God exist, Valyukha?"

"Yes, he is in Seventh Heaven. When I pray I address him."

"Does he talk to you?"

"No."

"Why do you address him then?"

"He'll hear the prayer anyway. If I'm sick I'll get well right away. But if you don't believe in God then, if you are swinging on a swing for example, you'll fall and hurt yourself. Or a ship at sea will sink..."

"Why did you stop wearing an Oktyabrenok star?"

"Mother said that since I'm a believer, I can't wear a star."

"Have you been going to the meetings with your mother?"

"Yes. Other kids and I sing religious songs there, pray and read sermons. You read the Bible only when it's your turn. I did it once already."

"Do you play children's games there?"

"We do. Religious ones."

"Do you have toys there?"

"No. And we can't throw snowballs there either, or run. Grown-ups told me not to teach other kids such games..."

"Do you observe fasts?"

"A little. I used to, but then granny came, reproached mother and broke my fast."

"What do you mean, broke your fast?"

"You know, she gave me food and I ended the fast."

(Excerpts from a conversation between the father, Aleksandr Buchasov, and his son Valentin, 7 years old.)

I have told my story everywhere, but to no avail. My wife and I have been divorced for 5 years, and for 3 years I have been petitioning various authorities to reverse the court decision awarding my son's custody to my wife and to let me raise him.

My former wife is a baptist. She is making a believer out of Valentin, while I don't want this to happen, not at all! As a father, I have the same right to raise my son as his mother. Why can't I use this right and raise my son the only way I believe is right, as an atheist?

I know that we have the freedom of conscience in this country. Everyone can have whatever faith he wants. Yet, Paragraph 52 of the RSFSR Marriage and Family Code states: "The parents have the responsibility to raise their children... as worthy members of socialist society."

Further, in Paragraph 54: "The parents have equal rights and equal responsibilities with respect to their children also when the marriage is dissolved."

"All questions related to the upbringing of the children are to be decided by both parents with mutual consent."

"In the absence of an agreement, the contested issue is to be decided by the organs of guardianship and supervision of minors with the parents' participation..."

I am being told: "You have days in which you are allowed to see your son. Use those days to raise him."

However, his mother interferes with my ability to see my son. On Saturdays, she simply takes him home from school, but it is on Saturdays and Sundays that I am allowed to see my son. This is the reason why I saw him only four times last year.

Of course I have gone to court with my complaints. I did so together with the Leninskiy Rayon Public Education Department, my son's school, the raykom komsomol and the VLKSM committee at the institute where I am enrolled. By then, guardianship and supervision authorities already knew that the mother, my former wife, has no time to raise the child: she comes home from work

and takes him directly to prayer meetings. The boy does not get enough sleep, does not do his homework and retains little of what he studies. Because he observes fasts, he sometimes goes hungry. (He was seen picking up bread at the school cafeteria.) Valentin does not take part in political activities at school; his mother has removed him from all Oktyabrenok activities. Once the child disappeared from school, the police had to declare him missing, but then they called off the search, reporting to me that the child's life and welfare are not in danger.

The court denied my petition to remove my son from the custody of his mother: of course, she is not a drunkard or a parasite.

I do not understand what is happening. On the one hand, I read in the 1985 Soviet Law on Religious Cults: "Only the parents, with mutual consent, may decide the question of religious education for the children..." On the other hand, when I raised this question at the Komsomol kraykom, at the Kray Public Education Department and at the party gorkom and kraykom, I was told that we have the freedom of conscience and that they are acting in the child's best interest.

There is a sentence on a box of chess pieces, written in Valentin's hand: "God is our Creator." Arithmetic lessons in his notebook start with psalms. And his mother grades such homework. At school my son has no friends; he is being taunted for his stories of the Almighty. Even now he declares that he will refuse to serve in the military.

"We will destroy the child," I told R.V.Chechaykina, children's rights inspector at the Leninskiy Rayon Public Education Department.

"We will," she agreed calmly. "But not we..."

I appealed to the kray court, since I had been satisfied neither with the way the hearings were conducted nor with the decision of the rayon court. My appeal was rejected: the evidence supporting the allegations of incorrect upbringing and education of my son "was not found."

So it was not found. But who was looking for it? I have grown tired of pleading at various offices to take but one look at all the documents I have assembled. The evidence is there. Explain to me at least, I have asked, why the school, without notifying me, returned the child's documents to the mother and expelled him. When I offered to send my son to the young pioneers' summer camp, at my expense, I was not allowed to do so. There are no competent authorities left in the kray that I have not asked for clarifications. Central authorities also proved unhelpful. Local party, komsomol and soviet officials no longer react to my reports, letters and complaints. I write to them and they do not respond. I call them on the telephone, and they tell me to be patient. What do they mean, to be patient? With each passing day

the boy is being sucked further and further into a religious morass. Now, he has a stepfather who is a religious fanatic. My son is being crippled, but I have to be calm about it. How is it possible that I, his father, can change nothing in my son's fate?

Editors' Comment: We have published this letter even though we are fully aware of how complex and multifaceted the situation described in it is. We understand the despair of a man from whom his own child has been taken and who has been barred from raising him.

Yet, the law in this case turns a deaf ear to the author's misfortune even as it appears to safeguard his fundamental interests as a citizen.

But can the law take into account each and every one of life's diverse situations? Is it so perfect as to resolve every contradiction similar to this one? As we see here, formal interpretation is not always in line with its highly moral essence. Recommendations meant to regulate the relationship between the sides in such situations are contradictory. Persons who interpret those recommendations do not always do so consistently. But as a result we have an acute suffering of a parent, religious narcotic in a young creature's head and a real possibility that the society could lose a functional citizen. Are we so irresponsible socially?

12892

Restoration of Cultural Monuments Carried Out at Feverish Pace in Kiev

18000270 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by S. Tsikora, IZVESTIYA special correspondent: "Pecherskiy Monastery Founder's Cell Discovered"]

[Text] Kiev's restorers, scholars and builders have begun renovating the ancient monuments of the capital of Ukraine. The Millennium of the Christening of Kievan Rus is approaching.

Kreshchatitskaya ravine is being transformed right before one's eyes. By the time the Dnieper's slopes become clothed in the first greenery of spring, a gilded cross and cupola will shine at the summit of an 18-meter-high column. One of Kiev's very first monuments will regain its original appearance. This monument was erected in 1802 to immortalize the memory of Grand Prince Vladimir, the christening of Kievan Rus and the return of Kievan self-rule under the Magdeburg Law.

History itself provides us with an answer to the question of why this particular, deep ravine was selected as the site for the monument (which, by the way, is visible only from the Dnieper side). It turns out that in ancient times the Kreshchatitskiy spring flowed through here. Legend has it that Vladimir christened his sons in this spring.

One of the first churches erected in Kiev—the Turova church—stood on this site. A number of researchers believe that the monument erected at the beginning of the 19th century was constructed on the spot where this first church once stood.

City officials have given builders and restorers 2 months to renovate the monument. In this time they must not only gild its top but also improve the adjoining grounds. It has also been decided to recondition an immense stairway which leads to the monument. This stairway joins the Vladimirskiy descent with the Dnieper embankment. A road will be laid down which will lead from the base of the column directly to the Dnieper shore and pedestrians will be able to walk from the monument to the waters of the Dnieper by means of an underground passage.

This is also a very busy time for workers in the manuscript division of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Central Scientific Library. The manuscript division possesses unique literary texts exemplifying Slavic culture. The manuscript division of the library, in collaboration with the JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHY, has researched more than 100 ancient Slavic literary texts in preparation for the approaching millennium. Some of these texts have been microfilmed. A portion of the texts have been compiled into a publication of the Moscow patriarchy which has been especially prepared to commemorate the millennium anniversary. The study of these historical documents is presently continuing.

A pleasant surprise awaits guests of the Russian Orthodox Church upon their visit to the underground churches of the famous Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra. At this time work is being conducted on unearthing secret living quarters and forgotten passageways in the remote reaches of the caves. As a result of these investigations, research assistants of the Institute of Archeology and workers of the scientific section of the historic preserve have discovered the cell of one of the founders of the Pecherskiy Monastery—Feodosiy. His living quarters were very small and contained a vaulted ceiling and two earthen benches. One of these was intended for rest and the other was capable of serving as a surface for eating and writing. How many more secrets does Pecherskiy Monastery possess?

Awaiting specialists are not only the restoration of already well-known monuments but new discoveries as well.

Renewed Conservatism Results In Brutality Toward Turkmen Women

18300167a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
2 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by N. Kuliyeu, director of the TuSSR House of Scientific Atheism: "A Torch In the Darkness"]

[Text] From time to time the same bitter news spreads through the republic: unable to bear her degradation and seeing no other escape from a situation in which she has

no rights, a young woman (most often from a rural area) commits suicide by self-immolation. One can scarcely imagine a more horrifying torch! The light of its chilling fire is a stern reminder to all of us who are left here on earth. The self-immolation of women is not merely an unfortunate Central Asian tradition for settling scores with life. It is also a protest and an appeal for social justice.

I often ask myself: why are vestiges of violations of women's rights and their human dignity so pernicious? Consider the practice of bride-price, a form of buying and selling of young women. It is no secret to anyone in Turkmenia that in recent years, during that period which we discreetly call the time of stagnation, feudal vestiges of the past with regard to women have been observed to be on the rise in some places. Yes, it is true; they have not receded further into the past, but instead like an epidemic have broken out in some regions with new vigor, taking on modern but no less sinister forms.

It is unpleasant to remember an event which occurred just recently in Tedzhenskiy Rayon, Ashkhabad Oblast, but it is necessary that we remember. A young woman named Bayramsoltan bore a stillborn child with the marks of numerous bruises on its body. Investigation revealed that the cause of the baby's death virtually in its unfortunate mother's womb were the almost daily beatings the pregnant woman received from her husband, Redzhepmurad Annayev. Many of the people who knew this young couple were surprised when they heard about what had happened, because at first family life in their home could not have been better; the newlyweds lived in perfect harmony.

Now everyone blames Bayramsoltan's mother for destroying their idyllic family life. It turns out that when she gave permission for her daughter to marry she demanded that her future son-in-law pay kalym. The sum seemed an absolutely fabulous one to the elderly woman: 14,000 rubles in cash, 13,000 rubles worth of various goods and several rams and cows. There was nothing the betrothed could do but pay the price. But after the wedding he was in no hurry to pay the full amount of kalym. Thereupon the mother took her daughter home (following the custom of "kaytarma") and kept her there until she received the entire kalym.

When Bayramsoltan returned to her husband's house his feelings toward her had cooled markedly. Feeling that he had paid too much and left the young family without money to live on, he vented all his rage on the defenseless woman.

Both Annayev and the bride's mother, indirectly guilty of the child's death, were justly punished by the court. But they were not the only persons accused in that trial: after receiving a bride-price for her daughter, Durdyeva immediately turned around and gave it to another family in order to get her son married off. In that case as well the use of kaytarma was repeated.

Our republic newspapers often report cases such as these. Law enforcement organs regularly punish those who adhere to these vestiges of the past and wreck people's lives. Yet the tradition of bride-price persists. There it is, hard but true: persistent feudal vestiges of the past and the sharia law are often in active conflict with Soviet legislation and the socialist way of life.

It is typical that the zealots who promote tyranny over and degradation of women are also undergoing "restructuring." We no longer hear direct invocation of the Koran or religious canons. They now attempt to justify their "philosophy" by saying that allegedly bride-price helps strengthen the family: after paying it a man will not be eager to divorce his wife, because by doing so he would lose the money already paid and would not have enough money for a second marriage. Customs and rituals which are thoroughly permeated with religious vestiges are explained by saying that they merely represent a desire to preserve ethnic traditions.

We often see cases in which a new custom does not replace religious ritual, but instead sort of coexists with the other custom, which bears the musty smell of past centuries. Thus it can happen that following a Komsomol wedding the newlyweds perform a marriage ritual according to the sharia law, yielding to pressure from their parents and relatives, their reasoning being something like this: "Is it not better to have the blessing of both the Komsomol and Allah, so that the new family will be stronger?"

In our opinion, in order to successfully combat vestiges of the past with regard to Turkmen women we must first of all neutralize and then completely eradicate the indifferent attitude of a certain segment of the population toward the bearers of those vestiges. And to do that atheistic propaganda alone will not suffice. We must combine the efforts of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. We have not yet achieved that sort of unity.

Quite often when visiting rural areas we are witness to how it is women who do the heaviest labor. Without exception, wherever there is manual labor one will find women as well. Do high- and low-level supervisors ever stop to think what it is like for those women, working stooped over cotton plants under the scorching, merciless sun and also caring for a large family? If they have, then obviously they have not given it enough thought. When we open our morning newspaper and read the latest figures on the status of cotton harvesting work, very few of us ask ourselves: "And what have we done to make the labor of the women harvesting the cotton easier?" I cannot talk about the problems of mechanization, because I am not an expert on that. But it would not seem to be too unrealistic a goal to create proper rest conditions for female workers in the fields, take them to the fields and back in buses and provide them with nourishing hot food and retail services, but in a majority of places this is still wishful thinking.

Women in rural areas have virtually no choice of professions. Indeed, where can they work? Only in the fields, since a surplus of labor resources, the lack of a broad network of small enterprises and trades in villages limit women's opportunities to find a job that they would like or to labor in a collective. Add to that a lack of space in preschool facilities (in rural areas there are enough such facilities to handle somewhere around 15 percent of the demand), which forces mothers to spend whole days sitting at home. Naturally this problem has escaped the attention of public organizations.

Women in the field, men behind the counters and in the bookkeeping offices — to our shame this has become a customary scene in many rayons. In Tedzhenskiy, Iolotanskiy, Oktyabrskiy and other rayons there are four to five men employed in stores and food service facilities for each woman working there.

Although they hold what are essentially women's jobs in trade and in the service sector, often performing functions which are regarded as women's work, in the home situation men act like pashas, feeling that it is degrading for them to help their wives around the house. And if one adds to this the assaults on women's human dignity, then one can well imagine how difficult is their lot. Because they are also mothers, as a rule mothers of from five to seven children. The stress on a woman's system is tremendous, and her food very meager. Yet another domestic vestige of the past which has been held over in the psyche of Turkmen women since times past: cottage cheese, milk, meat, vegetables and fruit, in short, all the things that mothers urgently need, are most often sent to the bazaar. It is no coincidence that 70-80 percent of women with large families suffer from anemia.

The example of a farm in Krasnovodsk Oblast — the Kolkhoz imeni Makhtumkuli in Kyzyl-Arbatskiy Rayon — graphically demonstrates how bad is our republic's problem of women being shut out of socially useful work and enduring unsatisfactory home lives. Of the almost 500 women in the kolkhoz who could work, only 130 are doing so, and only 40 out of 200 female Komsomol members have jobs. There is not a single female equipment operator or club staff member. Of 60 instructors at schools on the kolkhoz only four are women. Almost no women are working as brigade leaders, specialists or heads of specialized farms. Over the past two years there have been only three women among the 59 secondary school graduates going on to VUZs and secondary specialized educational institutions; 10 other women went on to vocational and technical schools. The situation is no better on other farms in our republic. A low level of female education results in a situation where many of them regard bride-price as a measure of their beauty and work skills. An increase in material wealth (and in recent years it has increased immeasurably in rural areas) has unfortunately not been accompanied by improvements in spiritual culture or by systematic educational work.

Overcoming vestiges of the past with regard to women requires intensified ideological, political and organizational work and the creation of active public opinion in opposition to harmful traditions. But in all these areas there continues to be a great deal of formalism and hyperorganization. Recently it was reported that 1,800 women's councils have been formed. However, the work of this movement, which is capable of doing great things, has thus far not extended beyond the conducting of some "oral magazines." What about the role of our republic Komsomol? From it we hear resounding speeches about the work that has been done, yet in rural areas female Komsomol members often are not only not combatting harmful vestiges of the past, but even boast to their girlfriends about the price for which they were, in a manner of speaking, bought.

...I once saw a letter published in the magazine MIR ISLAMA in 1913. This is what Muslim women wrote then: "Are we not human beings? Will it be soon that men will finally change their view of us? Can it be that they do not think that we, too, need training and education? Any man attends to the training even of his domestic animals. Are we not even worth as much as those animals? Let us, who have been deprived of science, enlightenment and life, come out into the light... What fault of ours is it if you have condemned us women to ignorance, covered our eyes, not allowed us to breathe...the air and covered our mouths and noses, as if we were buried alive...?"

I do not wish, and it would not be objective, to draw an analogy from this to the present day. But there is no hiding from the truth, and many lines penned in that distant time could, sad to say, still be signed by some of my female contemporaries...

12825

Old Believers Bear Brunt of Excessively Heavy Taxes

18120066 [Editorial Report] Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12, 27 March-3 April 1988 carries on page 12 a 500-word article by the senior accountant of the Old Believers, Archbishop Nikolai Bokhan, in which he states that the USSR Ministry of Finance is "trespassing the law" and "sapping Old Believers' trust in the state."

The issue centers around the case of a charwoman at the Old Believer Archbishopric of Moscow and All Russia, Matryona Safonova. Safonova was charged with providing meals for the religious personages who visit the archbishopric and was given R300 with which to buy foodstuffs. Subsequently, financial officials levied an income tax for 1985-1986 of R3,123 on the monies handed over to Safonova. Safonova can account for all the money entrusted to her, but the USSR Ministry of Justice will not listen to any appeals on her behalf. The Zhdanov District Finance Department is threatening to seize part of the house in which she is registered to live if she does not pay.

Similarly, an assessment of taxes of more than R25,000 for 1986 alone was due as a result of various archbishopric activities, such as candlemaking and publishing. When Archbishop Alimpi wrote a letter of grievance to the USSR Ministry of Finance, even greater taxes were levied on articles produced by the archbishopric. Bokhan concludes in his article: "...there are still people who see taxation as a means of bringing every kind of pressure, including that of the rouble, to bear on clergymen."

Effect of Iranian Broadcasts on Turkmen Muslims Highlighted

18350417 [Editorial Report] Ashkabad TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI in Turkmen No 12, 1987 carries on pages 46-55 a 5500-word article by M. Mollayeva, secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, headlined "We Must Strengthen Attention to Atheist Education" on the persistence of Islam in Turkmenia. Noting that some "party, soviet and ideological organs" tend to underestimate the power of religion, she adds that "it is especially alarming that sometimes communists and leaders of worker and school collectives permit the fulfillment of religious traditions and the clergy claim that these traditions are national. Recently, for example, this situation was examined in Gushgy Rayon; as a result, a number of people illegally engaged in religious work were exposed. It was revealed that the party raykom was negligent in atheist education. Religious rites and traditions were widespread in the rayon, and pseudo-mullahs, faith healers, fortune tellers and other parasitic elements had proliferated." She also claims that "television and radio programs which have an anti-Soviet character and preach Islam and are broadcast from abroad, especially from Iran, are having an extremely negative influence on the population."

Banned Film Exposes Misguided Agricultural Policy in Virgin Lands
18000243 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 Feb 88 p 6

[Article by Igor Malishevskiy, Kiev: "Two Fields of His Combat: An Ancient Story About How an Honest Film Was Killed"]

[Text] Please consider this article to be an official statement addressed to the arbitration commission of the USSR Union of Cinematographers, requesting them to consider the fate of Vladimir Shevchenko's film "Kulunda: Alarms and Hopes." The movie was made in 1966, shelved in 1967, and tracked down in the archives in 1987. Assuming that story continues to be an extremely instructive one today, and in order to give publicity to it, I am addressing it to the commission by way of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA.

Last year much was written about Vladimir Shevchenko in the press — both our own and foreign (and including SOVETSKAYA KULTURA). His last film "Chernobyl: Chronicle of Difficult Weeks," which dealt with practically the most painful point on our planet in 1986 — the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant — has been awarded prizes at several movie festival and the Gold Medal imeni A. Dovzhenko, and at the Moscow International Movie Market it was purchased by many countries throughout the world. In the summer of 1987 in Italy, at the 3rd International Film Festival on the island of Pantelleria, a prize was established to honor the memory of V. Shevchenko, which henceforth will be awarded annually to the best films dedicated to the struggle for peace and the protection of the environment.

Attention has also been drawn to the dramatic fate of the director himself. Soon after shooting the film in Chernobyl, he had an untimely death in March 1987, and thus did not live long enough to see his film appear on the screen. Inasmuch as the film, which had been accepted by USSR Goskino on 3 October 1986, was held up for many months by various departments, perhaps because they failed to understand the renewing spirit of *glasnost* and frankness within the country, or perhaps because they had a self-interest in concealing the truth — even that seditious idea has crept in.

Volodya was already mortally ill as he edited "Chernobyl," and was in and out of a series of painful treatments in the clinic, and during all those months I repeatedly heard him refer to his hapless "Kulunda."

"You don't think, pal, that the 'Kulunda' story is being repeated?", he would ask.

Throughout his life he carried this as a soldier carries a piece of shrapnel under his heart — his very first film, that had been shelved so ignominiously.

Volodya had made his film about the virgin lands, "Kulunda: Alarms and Hopes," 20 years before this. He had put into it experience which practically no other cinematographer had at his disposal — his "inside" knowledge of those problems that had been created by the mass assimilation of the virgin lands that had been undertaken cheerfully, to the accompaniment of the song "Let's go, friends, to the distant lands." As the chief agronomist at a sovkhoz in the virgin lands, he came to know personally that which is called the film's material. He came to know it when he fought and suffered. In the spring he did not want to begin sowing on the basis of a telephone call from the raykom, or in the autumn to sell more than he could sell. And entering the movie industry as a person who was already mature, close to 40 years of age, he splashed onto the screen the entire pain of the land, pain that he had felt with the tips of his own fingers. And also his soul's pain for the land, a land that people had treated, to use his words, "barbarously, like Neanderthals." During his ordeals with the Chernobyl movie, he frequently told me about how he had fought for "Kulunda," up until the last frame. No, it was not even for the film — for the essence of what was shown in it. He told me about how he had knocked on doors at various high levels. About how the kraykom buro had had a long session, that was stenographically recorded (he kept that transcript all his life but, like all the other "Kulunda" documents, was not located in his files until after his death). He dashed from Novosibirsk to Moscow, looking for defense. He spent the night at train terminals. He was destitute, and lived on rolls and yogurt. And so, after a while, the secretaries refused to admit this suspiciously ragged individual...

"You know, pal, it was probably because of everything that I showed in 'Kulunda' that I quit agriculture..."

In the making of documentary films he had been searching for a means by which he could tell about what was torturing him, and about the fate of the land.

From V. Shevchenko's Diaries About Events in 1966-1967

Records are gradually lost, and impressions are blown to the winds. But today I need them as I need the air. To shake up my awareness, to carry out the struggle. I need the memories of my Kulunda days in order to believe in myself, to save people from the quagmire of life that is engulfing more and more with every passing day...

The whole ruckus began when I arrived in Novosibirsk from Moscow. I had a double session at VGIK [All-Union State Institute of Cinematography] behind me. I had successfully passed my examinations for the fourth and fifth years. Ahead of me was my diploma. At the studio they were hacking out a two-part film "on an agricultural topic." A "little hole" developed in the scenario. The editorial office was looking for a way out, and my application for "Kulunda Accuses" was eagerly accepted at a session of the studio's creative council...

The steppe greeted us unwelcomingly. During the very first days a strong dust storm swept over us. All this, obviously, was photographed. We chose the Kulundinskiy Sovkhoz for taking the shots. The party's kraykom had suggested that to us.

The mood among the people at Kulunda, as one might have expected, was businesslike. These people had been tempered and weathered by the steppe winds. They didn't fear anything — dust storms, bitter frosts that frequently fell to minus 50 degrees Celsius, or the difficulties linked with N. S. Khrushchev's tempestuous leadership. It is difficult to frighten them with anything, since it is impossible to invent living or working conditions that could be any worse. But that is how it appears to a newcomer. Because they have become accustomed to their harsh land, have grown to love the vast Kulunda, and have become patriots of this primordial steppe. It became obvious to me that we could not make a lispig film about people or vistas like this. We could not lie. We had to show the conditions in which the people of Kulunda work, we had to show truthfully the misfortune of the land in Kulunda. And was it only the land in Kulunda? Kazakhstan, the Kuban, the Volga region were turning to dust, as were Stavropol Kray and the south of the Ukraine. Tens and hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of hectares were senselessly plowed up and thrown to the wind. That is not a pretty expression — "thrown to the wind" — in its literal sense.

Shevenko filmed "Kulunda" as his graduation project at VGIK, where the former agronomist from the remote sovkhos on the virgin lands was taking correspondence courses in the camera-man department. Its foreman shook his head and said, "With regard to the frame composition and the camera-man skill and chiaroscuro, I, of course, will give it a high rating. But what about the rest?"...

"Kulunda" and "Chernobyl." Two fields of his combat — his first and his last. His initial work and his final work, between which lay 20 years of his creativity, were created not only by the artist's fate — this is a gauge of his honesty, the blood of his bravery and civic spirit.

Volodya used to say that the only copy of "Kulunda" had apparently been kept at Novosibirsk. But it was not until April 1987, by the efforts of Yevgeniya Mordokhovich, a coworker at that time in his movie group, that the film (or, more precisely, like "Chernobyl," the fourth cut version) was located in the limbo of the archives, in order to be shown at evenings dedicated to his memory which, a half-month after his death, were held in the House of Movies in Kiev and Moscow, and in the Central House of Cinematographers.

For many years before that, "Kulunda" had become a legend among makers of movie documentaries: many of us first heard rumors about the bold film, and only later became acquainted with its maker. And when, on the screen, the sun was eclipsed by the black storm that was

showing its power, when, in the middle of the day, trucks on the highway turned on their headlights, and children walking their plastic dolls in baby carriages walked down the street holding onto a fence, it can truthfully be said that people became very agitated. Because this was not simply the dust raised by trucks that was hiding the horizon, it was not simply a natural dust formation that was engulfing the earthly star (Volodya made this movie metaphor throughout the film — as though the sun's eye was painful and inflamed).

"This is a fertile layer of earth that has been thrown to the wind," the director would say.

And we people sitting in the auditorium would mentally agree that other people's labor, harvests, and the very future of the land that we are leaving to our heirs, had also been thrown to the wind.

Most of the area on the screen is made up of synchronized discussions with people. With sunburned Kulunda farmers with two weeks' stubble on their face, wearing caps that had lost their shape long ago. With *muzhiki* with obstinate skulls, people with truly Shukshin personalities like the director himself. The very esthetics of the major scenes were also polemical with respect to their time. Those esthetics did not correspond to the smooth-shaven, necktie-wearing images of the advanced people in movie newsreels of that period, images of people who seemed to have been injected with "Shipr." But the things that failed more than anything else to correspond to the customary reports was what those people were saying painfully.

"In absolutely no instance should 100 percent of the land have been plowed up!"

But the figure was loudly announced — 100 percent and not one iota less...

"In the 1930's," one person recalls sadly, "we planted anti-erosion strips of trees between the fields. There wasn't any erosion then. People used to pronounce that foreign word 'erosion' unconfidently, as though it was an unfamiliar word, because Kulunda had never previously known that calamity."

The hot, practically armor-piercing sun in Kulunda. It sucks up the moisture instantaneously, to the last drop. The camera pans over the cracked land, that looks like the saline soil somewhere near the Sivash.

In the shimmer of mirages (such that it seemed that the tremendous screen in the House of Movies was shaking), tractors swam into view. It was sowing time.

Clouds of thousands of crows circled around the grain that had been dumped into long rows that were exposed to the elements. No grain storage facilities had been planned in the virgin lands.

In "Kulunda" the former newcomer-enthusiasts shouted loudly that crop rotations were needed, as well as sowings of grasses, but probably the thing most needed was better years: this was for 12 — that's right, 12! — centners per hectare. But instead of that, there was the oh-so-familiar "intensive" technological scheme of "produce, produce!"... The unambiguous message spoke from the screen: why don't we ourselves finally start worrying about the fate of the land, why don't we stop, or at least reduce, the flood of instructions, directives, papers, and distrust? Obviously there is no need to prolong the enumeration: today it is thoroughly known from statements made by our journalists who write on agrarian topics. But Shevchenko attempted to talk about this as far back as 1966, when the administrator's ear wanted to hear only about billions of victorious poods, rather than about painful problems.

From V. Shevchenko's Diaries About Events of 1966-1967

13 December 1966. I was flying to Moscow with some kind of trepidation, with a premonition of something better, of something more important for me. "Kulunda" was my first major work. Deep within me there was more paradise than hell.

A naive person, although an intuitive seer...

14 December. The viewing began at 1500 hours in the large auditorium of RSFSR Glavkino. As I listened to the speakers, I was sketching out ideas for my statement in reply (they did not allow me to speak):

1. The film was aimed primarily against the policy of working in fits and starts.
2. The exposition of the steps required to save the land, and the methodology for doing that, were a matter of scientific popularization. Our task, on the other hand, was the *public affairs* aspect. The fact that people are nervous in the film, and the feelings that they show, are what constitute the public affairs nature of the film.
3. The authors are not "breaking down an open door," but, rather, are forcing their way through a door that was opened once, but then was immediately slammed shut.

It is expected that the committee chief and his entourage will view the film tomorrow. I will not stop. Obviously more bad blood will be created.

15 December. I arrived by the designated time, but the leadership and the editorial board had already viewed the film without me. Kalashnikov told me to come to his office, where he began expounding the official point of view concerning the film. I became som. how not quite myself. But he did not need anything. As for Kulunda, it could go to hell, and as for civic-mindedness, that was nothing but the empty fantasies of idlers. The most important thing was to live long enough to get a nice

pension, and it would also be desirable to fulfill the film-production plan. Why the sudden "alarms"? Aren't they just a fabrication? Why hadn't they been pointed out to the party's kraykom? Why was Kulunda turning into dust? Why hadn't Kulunda's misfortune been explained in a popular manner? Etc., etc. My answers did not have any success for the simple reason that they simply were not offered during the discussion. Kalashnikov knew and understood more than his conversational partner. I got up from the armchair, put my hands on my head, and started to leave... Who was deciding the fate of films? Who was deciding the questions of how many copies to make? The situation was overgrown with them. But there was no one to weed them out.

If there is any sense in the production of documentary films (any beneficial social sense), then it lies in helping to improve human relations, to improve people's affairs. If there is no such sense, then our films are nothing but toys. Sometimes amusing ones, sometimes nice pleasant ones, but sometimes harmful ones. There are no roads for deviating from this. Not a single episode should be thrown out of a film. Either the entire film should be shown, or the entire film should be thrown on the rubbish heap by the officials.

The force of a documentary film is much greater than that of the printed word. And greater than that of the word spoken from the rostrum. If a serious and worthy attitude is taken to documentary films, it is important to gain the viewer's trust. That trust had been shaken by the previous years. But the most frightening thing is our day is the the approach to a film from the point of view of "how will the bosses take this?"

(Volodya, how many times did these long-held thoughts burn you when you were lying on your hospital bed as "Chernobyl" was being made?)

17-18-19 December. Viewing at the All-Union Committee. Sazonov said that the film is objective, civic-minded, and necessary. The only matter of concern was, for whom is it intended? It could scarcely be shown to the broad viewer, although it was necessary to show it to the party's Central Committee and the appropriate departments. I realized that the film would not be produced in multiple copies. But there would be a commotion, and that was what was needed for the much-suffering virgin lands...

I see a wall in front of me. I do not have any right to retreat, because it is not my own affairs that I am deciding here. The affairs that are being resolved here are the peasants' problems, the problems of Kulunda. I shall continue to face unpleasant situations. I believe that I am right...

I rushed back to the republic glavk for a discussion. By 1630 hours I was sitting in V. S. Pereyaslavtsev's office. The conversation can be summarized by saying that a lot had to be taken out of the film. First of all, the columns

that had been knocked down. Secondly, the boarded-up windows. He said that all of this was too gloomy. Thirdly, it would be necessary to remove certain phrases spoken by the kraykom secretary. What especially upset him was the existence of the phrase concerning democratic centralism.

My nerves were strained to the utmost. My head was pounding as though I had been in a good fight. My program of actions: I would go to Novosibirsk. I would make a few copies without changes. I would show them to the party's kraykom and, with Georgiyev's paper, would return to Moscow. There I would be told, "Sorry, old man, but you'll have to make more changes." I would go back to defending my position. And that is how it would go until I reached the highest administrative level, until the firm conviction that no one needed a major discussion would materialize.

In January 1967 the well-tested "psychological technology" was repeated. The movie officials demanded, "Bring us a paper from the Ministry of Agriculture that this kind of film is needed." It will be easier when uncle replies...

The republic ministry passed the film to the union ministry. Khoroshilov, the chief of the grain glavk, summed up the long discussion in this way: "The film is not bad, but at the present time it should not be shown on the screen. It contains more alarms than hopes. It should be redone."

The paper said that "certain changes" would have to be made. They made the film toothless, and practically meaningless. Shevchenko wrote indignantly in his diary: "I can't believe that it is possible in our country for a truthful film to perish simply because a few dozen officials are shaking behind their portfolios and armchairs!" (Well, Volodya, you'd better believe it!...)

Yes, there were also those whose attitude toward "Kulunda" was different. They supported the film after it had been shown at the PRAVDA editorial office. And after the viewings at the editorial office of ISKUSSTVO KINO, and at VGIK. And at the three showings at TsSDF [Central Studio for Documentary Films].

It did not help that the film was supported by fellow-journalists or by representatives of the public in Novosibirsk itself.

About 35-40 persons who headed the departments of the kraykom and kray's ispolkom gathered to discuss "Kulunda" at the party's Altay Kraykom. After listening, obviously, to a report from the Novosibirsk Obkom, Georgiyev, first secretary of the kraykom, entered the auditorium without greeting either the author or the studio director. When the film ended, Georgiyev began raging.

"The film cannot be shown in this form! You have shown that we have gone down a blind alley. There have to be ways to take us out of that blind alley. The film gives the impression that there is no way out. Am I really to believe that you do not know about the RSFSR government's decree concerning the fight against erosion? We are thinking about it, people are thinking about, we are holding conferences. Then what do we see: 'Newcomers are arriving'? The plowing up of the virgin lands is a heroic exploit, and you are mocking it! You got a few oldsters together, they started talking, and then they made their conclusions."

Volodya did not live to see either his "Chernobyl" or his "Kulunda" shown on screens in the capital.

Currently, to everyone's pleasure, the films of bygone years are being taken off the shelves. I am convinced that it is our common duty to the memory of our comrade to return from the shelf this controversial film that had been killed by zealous, overly cautious bureaucrats. It is time to inject it into the blood-supply system of our restructuring. And, obviously, to preface it on the film by printing the production date, so that today's viewer will know that "Kulunda"-66 is a production from the life of the very same Vladimir Shevchenko who produced "Chernobyl"-86. Because the final official document in the history of his last film truly sounds like a requiem: by decision of a special commission, the Konvas movie camera that V. N. Shevchenko had used to photograph the film "Chernobyl" had been buried as a result of the fact that it could not be decontaminated...

Among Volodya's entries in his diaries concerning his trials and tribulations in managerial corridors, one finds the following entry: "I accidentally heard an interesting phrase: 'Every airplane takes off against the wind.'" And that pertains to him. To his "Kulunda." To his "Chernobyl." To his fate.

5075

Young Authors Explore 'Blank Spots' of Soviet Literature

18120025a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 28 Feb-6 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Natalya Ivanova: "Latecomers"]

[Text] At a literary gathering I attended a few years ago the then Secretary of the Soviet Writers Union exclaimed in desperation: "Literature is moving in a direction that puts us at a disadvantage." The phrase elicited laughter but the Secretary meant business. He could not reconcile himself to the fact that literature was evolving according to its own laws—in defiance of all instructions.

The changes weren't tangible ones but change was in the air because people were refusing to live as they had before. Literature predicted this change. But journalists

were the first to sense it. Today they are always adding to our knowledge of society. Contemporary fiction cannot compete with the flood of media-generated information or with journalists' investigative reports about life today.

The increasingly popular "fat" literary monthlies publish stories and novels by young authors about the period that preceded the latest changes in society. This new generation of writers includes Alexander Ivanchenko ("Self-Portrait With a Great Dane"), Leonid Shorokhov ("Volodka-Osvod"), Sergei Kaledin ("The Humble Graveyard"), Vyacheslav Pietsukh, Vitaly Moskalenko. All of them are in their thirties—relative latecomers to literature. They explore the "blank spots" of our social reality, and their works get published alongside those by older writers who explore the "blank spots" of our history.

Both generations use what you might call "shock therapy". They write about things which used to be passed over in silence: about the outcasts, the wretched, the "insulted and humiliated" folk; about poverty and unearned riches; about alcoholism, prostitution and crime. Their characters are not very appealing: grave-diggers and intellectually undeveloped people who've sunk to the lower depths. Did we know they existed? Yes, we did. But the convention was, strange as it may seem that if you kept quiet about such people and problems, they might go away.

They haven't.

Some critics may feel superior to these latecomers. True, their works are in the style of the 19th-century Russian "naturalist school" and "physiological sketches". But the critics should not forget that Dostoyevsky was a product of the "naturalist school". His first novel, "Poor People," was followed by such classics as "The Insulted and Humiliated," "The Demons" and "The Brothers Karamazov." The fiction of the 1920s depended heavily on real facts.

Young writers today are sober and without illusions. They are not wildly enthusiastic or romantic. The new fiction is harsh, even cruel. It teaches kindness by inflicting pain. Their works are of varying artistic value but all are sincere and honest. (True, you don't have to be especially courageous today to be sincere and honest.) But one thing worries me. There are signs of a new conformism in magazines and films: stories slapped together about Stalin's labour camps, glib screenplays about perestroika.

Trendy subjects are dangerous things. The word "repentance" is in vogue nowadays. But the sight of many people repenting is no less ghastly than the sight of many people sinning.

One might ask why I mention only "latecomers" when I speak of young writers. Doesn't our literature have talented writers in their twenties?

There should be literary journals edited by people that are to bring the youngest writers along. An expensive proposition, I realize.

The Writers Union spent many years trying to cultivate young writers. Gala gatherings for hundreds of young hopefuls, conferences and seminars were annual events. These new recruits were given loving care, and encouragement, and constructive criticism. Their books were published in batches and one by one. Where are they now?

We are now reading totally different writers. There are no conferences or seminars. "Wild-growing" authors have taken over. Many readers find their works unusual, even ungainly. May I venture a word of caution: my dear fellows, literature isn't cultivated, it grows wild and that benefits us all.

/06662

Weekly Describes Mandelshtam's Arrest, Rehabilitation

18120025b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 28 Feb-6 Mar 88 p 16

[Article by Lev Ozerov: "Recollections About Osip Mandelshtam, 'Just Try To Tear Me Away From This Age'"; first 3 paragraphs introduction]

[Excerpts] Public interest in the literary legacy of Osip Mandelshtam is growing steadily. A book of his essays, "The Word and Culture," issued by Sovetsky Pisatel Publishers, was sold out within days.

Between February 24 and 26, Moscow will see the first ever Mandelshtam Readings, sponsored jointly by the Literary Institute, the Institute of World Literature, and Moscow University. Taking part will be poets, writers, and experts on Mandelshtam from various Soviet cities.

Below, Lev Ozerov, member of the commission in charge of the poet's literary legacy and one of the organizers of the Readings, talks about Osip Mandelshtam.

Goslitizdat Publishers in the 1930s. By a narrow stone staircase I ascend to the second floor, encountering on my way A. Novikov-Priboi, Yu. Olesha, I. Rozanov, A. Bely, B. Pasternak, V. Lidin, A. Malyshev and many others. The staff of the publishing house knew and loved these authors.

While standing in the corridor, I saw Osip Mandelshtam and his wife Nadezhda sitting near the opposite wall. I was talking softly to poet Mikhail Zenkevich, a handsome but shy fellow who seemed to always apologize. I surely knew that Mandelshtam and Zenkevich were acmeists, but at that time nobody talked aloud about it, because they all were declared representatives of the

upper bourgeoisie, advocates of decadence and exponents of decay in literature. This was beyond human understanding and hurt my reader's heart that overflowed with the verses of both men.

Mandelstam went to the telephone on the table and made a call.

"I wonder, Nikolai Nikolayevich, have you read my prose?... Well, I'll wait. Although I need the manuscript very much, still I would like to know your opinion about it. Excuse me for disturbing you...."

It was easy to guess that he was talking to poet N. Aseyev who will later speak highly of Mandelstam and call him "nervously proud" in one of his articles.

...Mandelstam concludes one of his best poems as follows: "...leaving the ship which had toiled hard in the seas, Odysseus returned, full of space and time...."

Osip Mandelstam returned or rather is returning "full of space and time" to our contemporaries. He is returning not alone but with Anna Akhmatova and Nikolai Gumilyov, both dear to him. In a letter to Anna Andreyevna, on August 25, 1982, he wrote: "You must know that I have the gift for holding an imaginary chat only with two people: Nikolai Stepanovich and you." He is returning to us together with Vladislav Khodasevich, Nikolai Klyuev, Sergei Klychkov, Mikhail Kuzmin and Vladimir Narbut. He is returning together with his age. These words belong to him: "Just try to tear me away from this age and I assure you you'll break your neck."

Osip Mandelstam is returning "full of space and time" to the culture of his country. His works, frozen in past decades, are now thawing for our readers and listeners. In the new period we are now going through, they acquire new meaning about which it was impossible to guess before. In fact, this is inherent in any genuine art. In the lines of the poet one can feel the energy addressed to the future.

Of course, Osip Mandelstam's return to us is a metaphor. It can be interpreted as follows: it is not him returning to us but us returning to him. This will be right. The process is mutual, complicated and hopeful.

Poet, translator, prose writer, historian specializing in culture.... Only in the course of time (in "the noise of time" reads his verse) at present, he has been read and is being read. He is not yet known well enough. True, for fairness' sake, it must be said that real poetry-lovers always remembered him and did not leave him without attention, first of all for the high emotional charge of his poetry, for the music of his language, for its picturesqueness, for its ability to bewitch, which is higher than the highest skill.

"The Stone," the first book of poetry by Osip Mandelstam, first published in 1913, was immediately the focus of attention. It was no easy task to say something new when Blok, Sologub, Andrei Bely and Akhmatova had already been writing poetry. But Mandelstam did it. "The Stone" was followed by "Tristia" (1922), "Second Book" (1933), "Poems" (1928), two books of prose—"The Noise of Time" (1925) and "The Egyptian Stamp" (1928), collected articles "About Poetry" (1928). Some will say about the quantity: not enough! Others—quite a lot! Considering the importance and the short period of time during which all this was written.

In 1933 he wrote poetry about Stalin, which was fatal for the poet. Stalin found out about these verses and revenge followed.

He was arrested in May 1934. The warrant to arrest was signed by Yagoda "himself". Then he was exiled to Cherdyn, where he threw himself out of a window but survived. At first he said that he was not yet ready to die. Then he became more confident: "I am ready to die". He was a fearless man and poet, traditional for progressive Russian literature.

The accepted way of writing is: the creative work of Osip Mandelstam broke off in 1937. How could it break off so suddenly (when he was full of plans and ability to work day and night)?

The accepted way of writing is: he died in 1938. What a quiet obituary phrase! He perished and even today we don't know under what circumstances he perished. There are several versions at the level of legends. They all are hard for soul and consciousness. We don't know where his grave is.... When I speak and write about Mandelstam, I feel awkward and ashamed to be eloquent. One tragedy is followed by another.

"I must live, though I have died twice," wrote Osip Mandelstam. How much suffering is behind this line! With all his life and his death Mandelstam got the immortal right to participate in our poetry, in the spiritual formation of new generations. For such full-blooded participation there aren't enough of his books printed in full or in adequate number.

I have heard Mandelstam recite several times. The music of his poetry won the hearts of the audiences. He looked exultant and, moreover, triumphant. I heard Anna Akhmatova say two or three times: "Osip has won". She said it after his death, late in the 1950s and early in the 1960s. She spoke with ease, pleasure and determination. What was her statement on the victory of Mandelstam based on? The fact was that his poems were not printed, his name was not mentioned and old editions had become too difficult to get. One day I mentioned all this to Anna Andreyevna. She listened to what I had to say and answered with the magnanimous sluggishness inherent in her.

"Everything is correct and not correct at the same time. He achieved a rare, special and covert attention on the part of readers. I have already said and, it seems, written that the invention of Johann Gutenberg proved not so necessary for him. His poems were passed from mouth to mouth. Just try and do this with other authors...." After a pause she said: "Of course, he has won."

With years it became clear to me that sooner or later creative workers who were profaned undeservedly, would gain the upper hand (in the readers' conscience)

over authors who were over-praised undeservedly. This is the fate of Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Pasternak, Tsvetayeva, Zoshchenko, Platonov, Gumilyov and Mandelstam. I remarked: people don't like trivial "lucky people" and favourites doomed to continuous praise.

"Because of me the world will feel warm." These words have stood the test of time.

/06662

MVD CID Chief Interviewed on Patterns of Drug Abuse

18000248 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Feb 88
p 4

[Interview with Lt Gen of Militia V. Pankin, chief of MVD Main Administration for Criminal Investigations, by A. Illesh and Ye. Shestinskiy: "Drug Abuse—A Report from the Militia"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The militia has seized 42 tons of narcotic substances this year. This figure alone would appear to state unequivocally that organs of the MVD have launched a major effort in the war against drug abuse. But how do law enforcement authorities themselves view their contribution to this effort? This question initiated the following discussion with the chief of the Main Administration for Criminal Investigations, Lt Gen of Militia V. Pankin.

[Answer] We view present efforts with caution. The USSR MVD Collegium recently reviewed the results of the work of internal affairs organs for the year 1987. Our activity in the struggle with drug abuse was found to be unsatisfactory. This judgment is severe, but it reflects the current situation. Moreover, it must be admitted that the 900 people who work on criminal investigations in this field have been working at a slow pace and performing poorly here and there. It is sufficient to cite one fact: The opinion is prevalent (even among members of the militia) that drug abuse does not exist in certain parts of the country. This is false. Where no narcotic substances are grown, I am sorry to say, the abuse of medicinal drugs is growing. And to overlook this fact only fosters inefficiency on our part. It is said that if there is no evidence of a crime, it doesn't exist! As for the illness of addiction, it can be neglected, it is said, since a hundred times more must be spent on "curing" it. A substantial restructuring of the organs of internal affairs is needed in Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, Belorussia, Moldavia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmeniya, the Northern Caucasus, and in Volgograd, Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, and Saratov oblasts as well as in several others.

[Question] The State Agricultural Committee has curtailed and concentrated the areas of state-grown narcotic crops and improved the security of those that are left. The decision has been made to halt entirely state cultivation of the opium poppy. Has this had an influence on patterns of drug abuse?

[Answer] Yes, of course. The press, and IZVESTIYA in particular, raised these issues sharply, and in the final analysis had a positive effect on the decision of the State Agricultural Committee. But this should only serve to prod the militia to take more decisive steps in places where narcotic crops continue to be grown. In regions that serve as a source of supply for the raw materials we carried out, on a comprehensive basis, "Operation Poppy 1987," in the course of which about 4,000 illegal fields of opium poppies and marijuana were found, and more than 140,000 hectares of wild-growing plants were

destroyed. The two-year effort to destroy the crop base has altered the situation. On one side the problem has been alleviated, but the evil has begun to emerge in a new form. In certain regions 30-40 percent of those addicted now use medicinal types of drugs. This kind of drug addiction is more serious both from the standpoint of treatment and prevention by those in enforcement. It is characteristic of the Baltic region, Central Russia, Leningrad and Moscow. We have had cases of clandestine laboratories for the manufacture of synthetic drugs. Another difficulty of our work lies in the fact that psychoactive substances which are extremely hazardous to the health are now being extracted by complex processes from drugs that are not legally controlled and are freely sold over the counter in pharmacies.

[Question] What can be accomplished in the near future to prevent the spread of medicinal narcotics?

[Answer] In cooperation with public health organizations, the militia will devote special attention to the effort to monitor and control the registration and sale of narcotic drugs in pharmacies and treatment facilities and to halt the misuse of these drugs by medical personnel. At the same time, efforts will be made to tighten on-site security to protect narcotics. Already centralized control-panels have been introduced at 96 percent of pharmacies for their protection, and a considerable number of them have two or three lines of defense.

This problem is not so acute today. Nevertheless last year there were about 500 crimes associated with thefts or violations of security, registration, or sale of prescription drugs. This figure has served to alert us to the problem.

[Question] There are still enough toxic plants growing wild and people to collect them. What is the militia doing (and what generally can be done) to combat this "gift" of nature, the cannabis plant?

[Answer] This is a difficult question. A host of other problems are connected with it. Just try to burn cannabis plants and nothing else in a valley in Central Asia! This is a vast area of cultivation and it would bring about great changes in local natural conditions. And we lack the knowledge of how to destroy the plants selectively with the use of herbicides, although such attempts have been made. At the present time, at the request of the USSR State Agricultural Committee and the MVD, specialists of the USA, utilizing the experience of their colleagues in other countries, are attempting to devise a herbicide capable of destroying the cannabis plant selectively, while leaving intact plants growing beside them. Alas, this project is far from fruition. For the present the only possibility of halting drug use is through the creation of a special militia to protect such areas, but the effectiveness of these efforts is nevertheless not very great—the cannabis growing areas are too extensive.

[Question] Police abroad (who have many years experience with drug abuse) manage to seize only about 15 percent of illegal drugs. What is our percentage?

[Answer] This has not been accurately calculated, but I doubt that it is more.

[Question] Isn't the growth of drug abuse related to the restrictions that have been placed in recent years on the sale of alcoholic beverages? Cannabis, of course, has always been growing among us.

[Answer] The period of stagnation had its effect on the law enforcement organs, particularly in their capacity to react to certain trends. In principle, we had available to us appropriate laws and regulations even earlier. But they were not implemented properly. I think that party and soviet organs in revealing all of this have shown the failure of the militia in combating drug abuse.

Sociological research by us indicates that one of the reasons for the spread of drug abuse lies in active interaction with the West, resulting in the penetration of this evil from there. At the same time I cannot deny that reductions in the sale of alcoholic beverages have obliged people to look for other forms of intoxication. Thousands of people will drink anything that even smells of alcohol.

[Question] In an interview with IZVESTIYA last year you referred to a frightening number of addicts who require narcotic drugs for their survival. Twenty-two percent of addicts spend from 1,000 to 3,000 rubles a month for narcotics. One thing is clear. Even the most well-to-do persons, once they have become dependent upon drugs, soon become bankrupt. Yet the illness of addiction demands satisfaction. Where are they to get the money? Even an untrained eye can see that this leads directly to crime. Can we speak of the existence of a drug Mafia in the country?

[Answer] No, of course not by Western standards. Not on the American scale. But it must be admitted that in connection with drug abuse we do have organized crime. We may speak of about five or six people who are engaged in the sale of narcotics for two or three years. This is, of course, by no means the Mafia that we see in the movies, but the answer is yes, criminal groups do exist.

Undoubtedly, those who engage in the drug trade are dangerous. In effect, they concentrate crime around them, and often serious crime. One of the reasons for murder is possession of narcotics, while paying for them or, as you correctly noted, running up big debts. Such cases are most characteristic of Central Asia. The big amount of money that can be made from drugs also attracts criminals.

[Question] Let's be a little more specific. For example, what for us could be called a major drug shipment?

[Answer] It is not easy to say precisely what a major shipment is. We just arrested a wholesaler with 10 kilograms of hashish. Is that a lot or a little? Judge for yourself. The militia is seizing capsules containing narcotics by the hundreds and thousands. The need for narcotics, as you know, is steady and the cost is high. Last year we destroyed considerable areas of opium and cannabis under cultivation. On the other hand, drugs have become more expensive. So we have plenty of problems. No sooner do we solve one than others arise.

12889

Employment for Released Prisoners Becoming Urgent Problem

18000252 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent V. Mamontov, Khabarovsk Kray: " 'We Don't Need People Like Him': That Is What the Brigade Told a Person Who Had Returned from Places of Incarceration. What Will His Fate Be?"

[Text] V. I. Makarov, born 1952, released from a corrective-labor colony, was sitting opposite the chief of the personnel department at the Daldizel Plant as the chief dialed a number of the intercom. Someone at the other end picked up the telephone and in the personnel department office one could hear the metallic roar in the shop.

Through the noise one could hear a confident voice saying, "There's nothing to talk about. The collective has decided that we don't need Makarov!"

"I'd really like to help you, but, as the expression goes, 'You can't make people love you,' the department chief said, summarizing the situation. "When you left Daldizel, you went directly to court: the people in the shop know you, and your reputation is not too good. In addition we don't have any housing for you."

It became obvious that the discussion with Markarov had come to an end.

But for us, for society, it would seem that the discussion had only begun. Obviously, a person who has returned from incarceration has always been greeted cautiously. At times this was done for no good reason. At other times, however, people wrongly trusted people's insincere oaths. In a word, this problem has always been a complicated and painful one. But today it is becoming particularly acute.

"This is what I have noticed lately," Yu. Sayapin, district inspector of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs, said. "Brigades that have been united by a collective contract have been

kicking out everyone who has been hindering the attainment of the goal. Obviously, one can understand the workers' feelings. But where are the people who have stumbled supposed to go?"

The concern expressed by the district inspector is by no means abstract: he is the first person who came up against the impossibility of finding a job for his ward, who had a blot on his record. And whereas previously, by means of truths and untruths, provisos, and personal contacts, it nevertheless proved to be possible to resolve this task — the militia department in Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon, Khabarovsk, found jobs for 534 persons last year — the answer that is quoted today in personnel departments is the Law Governing the State Enterprise, which "by itself establishes a stable labor collective that is capable, under conditions of complete cost accounting and self-financing and on principles of self-government, to achieve high final results." Consequently, it is only after careful analysis that a brigade, shop, or department will accept a specific Makarov: what kind of person is he? what is his mental outlook? will he help to achieve high final results, or will he become deadwood?

This is the kind of careful analysis and nit-picking that have been destroying the currently existing system of finding jobs for persons who have served their sentence in corrective-labor institutions. As for the system itself, you can be assured that there is nothing to be sorry about. Its chief flaw consists in the fact that it was constructed exclusively on the basis of administrative coercion. Judge for yourselves: a decree by the kray's ispolkom has approved a list of enterprises that **must** give jobs to released individuals. Before issuing a statement that a person has been released, the inspector in charge of finding a job for that person **must** indicate a specific address where he will be working. The militia **must** investigate to see that the released prisoners have arrived on the job without any delay. And the special commissions attached to the rayon ispolkoms **must** monitor the actions of those officials, and **must** require the directors of the enterprises stipulated in the list to give jobs to the former prisoners.

But, as often happens, all these high-sounding formulations conceal formalism of the purest water. We examine the list prepared by the Khabarovsk Kray Ispolkom, and we discover there enterprises that are situated in the border zone, the road to which has been closed to former prisoners. Why, then, are those plants and factories included in the list? To give the appearance that there is a broad choice?

And here is an example of how formally the employees of the corrective-labor institutions follow the instructional guides: V. Khaustov was sent across the entire country from Lipetsk Oblast to Khabarovsk Kray, to the settlement of Ayan, to the Sovetskiy Timber Camp. But no such camp exists in Ayano-Mayskiy Rayon. After people

are released from their places of incarceration, the attempt is sometimes made to send them absolutely anywhere, so long as it is somewhere far away.

Everyone who has been rejected and who has lost all steady links to an honest life eventually turn up in the reception and assignment center under the Khabarovskiy City Ispolkom UVD. The people there are also engaged in the problem of finding jobs for people: for example, on 29 September 1987 representatives of the Innokentyevka Timber Camp had assigned to them a "labor guard" consisting of ten persons. As of this date, three of the persons who were released to find a new life have found jobs for themselves, one was fired for a valid reason, and three were off and running, and where they are now, nobody knows. The people at the reception center do not conceal the fact that it was difficult to count on any other result — all ten persons agreed to go to Innokentyevka only in order in return to their previous "beach-boy" way of life — an environment that encourages crime. And so a vicious cycle develops. The militia understand this. But the strictest rule — the person must find a job within a month's time — had been observed...

A. Seregin, deputy chairman of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Ispolkom, Khabarovsk, agrees that the problem has currently become very acute.

"But to be perfectly honest with you, I don't see any way out. If we continue to exert pressure on the enterprise, that would mean directly violating the law governing their economic independence. But if we fail to give any support to people who have had their lives badly mixed up, that wouldn't be our way of doing things. People say, 'We don't need people like that...' But where are they supposed to go? Who does need them? Their dubious pals, thieves and repeat-offenders. Today many people are being released in accordance with the Amnesty Ukase. People who have previously strayed from the path are being told, in effect, 'Become a new person! Use labor to rehabilitate yourself in people's eyes!' Unfortunately, it is becoming increasingly complicated to implement that appeal and that law..."

But let us think carefully about this: should it be easy? Let us return to the beginning of the chain, to the decision made by the labor collective about whether they should accept the "former." When selfishness and a self-seeking attitude cloud over the collective's eyes, that really is "not our way of doing things." But should one always give an unconditional "no"? Out here at Daldizel, the people mentioned several names of conscientious persons whose spots on their personal records are never mentioned by anyone now. But how is a person supposed to resume life with a clean slate?

"I literally passed through purgatory," Sergey A. recalls. "The worst thing was when something in the shop disappeared. Some people made innuendoes about it, and others whispered to me in an overly friendly way,

'We don't think that you're the one who took it...' But, when all is said and done, the people are not to blame. I'm the only one who is to blame and I had to prove to everyone else that I had changed completely. Today all these difficulties are a thing of the past."

And this is what the people in the brigade think of Sergey:

"When he came here, it was obvious that he had decided to come to his senses. He is, incidentally, a certified specialist, so he does things quickly. True, you would probably not be impressed by his social work. But that is a skill that is not given to everyone."

As we can see, this is a delicate, individual matter. And the system for finding jobs for people is not only a completely formal one, but also bears features of terrible bureaucratic hypocrisy. It would seem to be fundamentally erroneous because it is intended to serve some kind of "average former prisoner."

I was given the names of several "unfortunate" individuals who had been refused jobs at Dalenergomash. I went to visit each of them at home.

"I don't want to find a job there! I have found a nice place with better advantages," I was frankly told by a young fellow who had his feet firmly planted in the doorway, barring my entry into his room, where pots and pans were banging together and happy voices were talking loudly. "Just write that I don't have any claim against the plant!..."

Unfortunately, not too rarely the alarms expressed by the plant brigades are well-founded: it frequently happens that the person who has been released from the colony has forgotten how to work. If he ever had any proficiency, he has lost it. He has developed an insolent disdain for people who work hard. Because it is no secret that many former prisoners have not been overloaded with work, but, putting it more simply, are working half-heartedly. In Khabarovsk Kray, there are rather frequent instances when entire brigades made up of persons who have received suspended sentences and who have been sent to construction sites in the national economy have looked for work for weeks. The deadline arrives, and the person is actually disqualified, and in certain respects he even ceases to be a person.

Therefore it would seem that there is a lot of sense to the recommendation made by Captain of Internal Service Z. Bisyarina: it would be desirable to create temporary labor settlements for a definite group of the persons who have been released, thus carrying out a kind of "decompression" before they start their independent life. In essence that recommendation has been dictated by the most humanitarian considerations.

Unfortunately, in a long discussion with A. Bogatov, deputy chief of the political department at the Administration of Corrective-Labor Institutions, a rather large number of constructive suggestions were made. For the most part the conversation can be summed up by saying that, in A. Bogatov's opinion, it is necessary to force the existing system to operate. But if that point of view takes the upper hand, then, instead of conclusions there will be a flood of complaints — not only those pertaining to the local soviets, but also to the personnel departments and certain individuals in the militia.

A. Kolesnikov, senior instructor at the political department, had been listening to our conversation. He asked to have his opinion entered in our notebook: "The essence of the problem is probably that we are not interested enough in the person's fate: all we have to do is accompany him to the gates, and then he's not our worry anymore. And the other partners in finding jobs for them are fulfilling their duties in too formal a manner. We need closer contacts! The person and his fate are not being taken into consideration..."

Kolesnikov was given a disapproving look, as though he had divulged a secret, whereas the problem that we were discussing was knocking down an open door with increasing persistence. And we must definitely hear that knocking. There are no ready-made decisions or answers — that is true. But it is necessary to seek them — in an open, joint manner.

5075

Komsomol Journal Opens Discussion on Law on Youth

18000260 Moscow *MOLODOY KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 3-14

[Letters to the Editor under the "Position" rubric: "The Law on Youth"]

[Excerpts] In September 1987 the All-Union Communist Youth League Central Committee Bureau adopted a resolution "On the Participation of the Country's Komsomol Organizations in the Preparation of a USSR Draft Law on Youth."

Komsomol workers and activists, specialists in youth problems, and jurists are today determining what form the new law should take. They are trying to ensure that it will be a reliable instrument for carrying out the youth policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government, for precisely determining the role and duties of the young generation in the life of society, for helping to solve youth problems, and for defending the interests of youth. A true understanding and interpretation of current issues can be found only if the Law is prepared in an atmosphere of glasnost and if young people themselves take active, committed part in this work. Here there should

not be, cannot be, any indifference. Therefore, in publishing the letters and materials in which the readers of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST put forth their opinions and suggestions, we are hoping for a further continuation of this discussion.

"Not Just Kind Words"

"Maybe at some large plants there are active Komsomol organizations that can give actual assistance to the average Komsomol member and defend his interests. Maybe. But in our office there are no such organizations and can't possibly be. Judge for yourself — what can a Komsomol group do when it has only 5 members? Prizes, reprimands, promotions, dismissals — the authorities take care of that. You can try to argue, you can make suggestions, but it's senseless. They nod their heads and that's all.

"A law on youth is really needed, a law that will be comprehensive, detailed, and that will provide for everything, most of all for the responsibility of officials who infringe on the rights of youth." — A. Khapovitskiy, accountant.

"Let Poetry Ring Out"

"I clearly remember a time at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's when, after lectures at the institute, I frequently went to (Mayakovskiy) square to listen to poetry readings. These were holidays — poetry, young people, freedom. But I remember these same days with sadness. Readings were often broken off when policemen or members of the people's militia would come and drive us off. For what? Just because we were listening to poetry.

"Now, of course, times have changed. I see how people gather on the Arbat, on the streets, in parks, to sing songs or draw....I don't think there is any danger that young men and women will be dragged off to the police station for this. But nevertheless, based on the experiences of my youth, now that a Law on Youth is being discussed I would like to say that the Law should definitely contain some kind of clear norms to guarantee the right of young people to have such meetings and performances on the streets. Obviously not everything that young people read and sing in public is beautiful and correct. But ideological immaturity cannot be cured by an involuntary trip to the police station." — A. Prosyantov, teacher.

"From a Jurist's Point of View"

"In our country there are more than 1,500 legislative acts connected with the legal status of young people. They have been adopted at various times and are poorly coordinated, sometimes even contradicting each other. This is largely the reason for infringements on the rights of youth and youth organizations. The overabundance of departmental acts complicates the control of various issues, and in many cases leads to excessive regulation

and overattention to petty details. In short, our legislation on youth is unsystematic, has not been codified, and has no generalizing basic principles. This role should be played by the future USSR Law on Youth.

"In my opinion, the most important of the tasks now standing before us as we discuss and work out the Law are the following:

1. the definition of the basic rights and responsibilities of youth;
2. the social activization of youth;
3. the elimination of current deficiencies in youth legislation;
4. the establishment of a series of norms that will conform to the current economic, social, and political strategy of the party;
5. the broadening of the authority of the Komsomol and other youth organizations;
6. the broadening and strengthening of a legal mechanism that will ensure the realization, safeguarding, and protection of the rights of youth and youth organizations.

"It is necessary to provide legal regulation for issues relating to the education of youth. Quite a few problems have accumulated in this area. Many schools work on a two-shift system. For various reasons (not all of them well-founded), 25 percent of the students in VUZes and secondary specialized educational institutions do not receive stipends. The development of various forms of student self-government has been inadequate.

"An extremely important problem is the position of youth in the sphere of labor. Current legislative norms on youth labor must be brought into accordance with contemporary conditions. In my opinion, it is particularly important to guarantee job placement for young people who are dismissed from their jobs in connection with industrial rationalization or the introduction of new technology. It is not infrequent for such problems to be resolved at the expense of young people, even promising future specialists.

"The Law must definitely explain, render concrete, and develop such important rights for young people as the rights to housing, health care, sports, and leisure. It is first and foremost necessary to establish housing benefits for young families. Existing benefits are frequently subordinate in nature. They are not familiar to young people, who in reality take advantage of them only rarely.

"The physical preparation of young men and women has called forth many complaints, in particular from military registration and enlistment officials. Dismal statistics

attesting to the frequent sicknesses of children and adolescents are well known. It therefore seems to me that it would not be out of place to include in the Law norms relating to universal prophylactic examinations and the broadening of networks of healthcare facilities in schools and institutions for secondary and higher education.

"At present the Komsomol and other organizations are being reproached for devoting too much attention to organizing young people's leisure time and for ignoring other aspects of their work. I won't argue that sometimes one meets with certain excesses. But it remains a fact that the subject of young people's leisure time has become a problematic area and needs attention — and, of course, legal regulation. The activities of youth organizations, clubs, sports facilities, and tourist organizations should be based on precise legal norms. But in this area there are still many differences and disagreements, and the Law on Youth should regulate the resolution of all these issues.

"It is obvious that it will be appropriate to provide a section on foreign policy in the Law to emphasize the role of young people in international affairs. This may include broadening opportunities for the activity of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations and "Sputnik," and granting other youth organizations the right to international travel and contact with young men and women from foreign countries.

"A particular place in the Law should be given to Komsomol organizations, their rights, duties, and resources, and to questions of their cooperation with other social organizations in the country. At the present time it is far from everywhere that, when setting forth requests or making demands, the Komsomol is able to reach understanding and obtain results as a fully empowered socio-political organization. This is frequently due to the fact that in certain cases Komsomol decisions lack juridical status. The Law should emphasize the Komsomol's priority in deciding questions relating to the work, daily life, and leisure time of young people. In short, it should provide firm guarantees to strengthen the work of Komsomol organizations in defending the rights and interests of youth.

"Naturally, a varied and active youth policy requires a solid material basis. In this connection it seems to me that thought should be given to the creation of a Youth Fund. Only in this way will it be possible to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the wide spectrum of measures being taken in connection with young people, and to actually insure favorable conditions for their daily life, education, and leisure time.

"And one more thought: perhaps in order to ensure a unified youth policy it would be a good idea for our government to create a USSR Union-Republic Committee on Youth Affairs? This would be a reliable guarantor

for the implementation of the future Law on Youth." — D. Shutko, senior staff member of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, kandidat of juridical sciences.

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Komsomol Membership Shrinks; Many Members Indifferent

18000232 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by V. Lukov, head of the Department of Komsomol Construction at the Higher Komsomol School Research Center under the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and candidate of philosophy, and G. Inozemtseva, senior scientific associate of the Higher Komsomol School Research Center: "Where is the Growth Curve Leading Us?"]

[Text] From discussions that took place before the start of the congress, one thing was clear to everybody: The Komsomol membership drive had been ruinous for the organization. The 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress established guarantees that the practice of unrestricted acceptance for membership would remain a thing of the past, and the most important of these guarantees was incorporated in the Komsomol Rules—the right of final acceptance was put in the hands of the primary organizations.

And so the decision was made. It has the support of both rank-and-file members and Komsomol workers. Recent research by the Higher Komsomol School Research Center, attached to the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, showed that 73 percent of those polled were in favor of the new rules; that is, an incomparably higher percentage than have approved previous changes in the rules.

Who was not aware of the fact that in denouncing decisively the practice of accelerating growth in the ranks of the All-Union Komsomol, under current conditions a reduction in the influx of replenishments into the Komsomol is to be expected? The previous growth rate was denounced, of course, for the very reason that it was artificial.

Time passed. Then panic broke out in certain committees: "Look out, our ranks are thinning!" And, in fact, during the interval since the congress Komsomol membership has fallen, the losses may be counted not in the hundreds but in the thousands, and even the tens of thousands. This is frightening. Yet the recent actions of some Komsomol organs are reminiscent of knights in armor sharpening their lances.

No one, of course, has established any criteria for membership growth. But what about other kinds of pressure? It is enough to make an evaluation of the work

done for the Komsomol the criterion for acceptance, and the whole thing reverts of its own accord to precisely what the congress so decisively rejected.

The rationale is as follows: If the organization is working well, it will inevitably grow; and if it does not grow, that means it is working poorly. What could be clearer? Except, of course, that here we are concerned with an organization that is looking for a way out of a crisis situation, and about a league a significant share of whose members have become infected with skepticism and downright disbelief in it.

From data that is based on a series of investigations by the Research Center in various regions of the country during the period 1986-1987, it was found that approximately one third of All-Union Komsomol members polled reported that the Komsomol had no effect on their personal fortunes. And regardless of the indicator one may select—whether it is the attitude towards restructuring in the Komsomol, personal participation in it, level of political awareness, or an evaluation of the results of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress—one finds a yawning chasm of pessimism, non-participation, and skepticism.

Here is a perfectly simple statement of an unshakable assumption in practice: It is only in the ranks of the Komsomol that a young person can go through the school of communist education and training, and should the Komsomol fail to enroll him or engage his attention, then he is going to be left in the street with all its dire consequences. Some people therefore even maintain that the decline in Komsomol membership leads directly to the self-liquidation of the organization and to its dismemberment into "non-official" groups. Therefore, they say, young men and women left to their own devices without Komsomol guidance or direction will not be raised as communists and will be lost to society. Citing statistics, they warn that if this trend continues, Komsomol membership will be cut in half by 1990.

Very well, we must prepare for such an eventuality, and for that fact that unforeseen structural changes in the youth movement may arise, as well as for the fact that the model of the one and only social organization for youth will undergo changes. With the democratization of Soviet society, such changes are natural, and they do not undermine the foundations, nor do they diminish the role, of the All-Union Komsomol as a social and political organization and as an association of the youth vanguard.

We can anticipate the objections of advocates of the well-known slogan "The more, the merrier." It is perfectly obvious, these advocates tell us, that we are now being drawn towards the other extreme—"Better fewer, but better." The first thing you know there will be an even further tilt to the left—"The fewer, the merrier." And without fail they will cite the records of the second

plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, which condemned efforts to expand the organization by removing from the Komsomol all persons who for various reasons do not take an active part in the life of the organization.

In the first place, with respect to slogans. We are adamantly opposed to the sloganeering approach, which is out of place and even dangerous in dealing with these matters. And we are adamantly opposed to having a purge. It is really not the fault of today's Komsomol members that the organization has not been of help to them in finding themselves and in coming to terms with their lives in the best way possible. But if we are to cite the records of the latest plenum, then we should single out its main theme for discussion—that is, the Komsomol's winning back the lost trust of young people.

Unfortunately, neither common sense nor an analysis of the existing situation give grounds for belief that this will come about in accordance with the well-known formula: "Yesterday we said what we were going to do—today we have done what we said."

It is not a matter of a pragmatic interest in the organization. It exists even today. The number of those who want to enter the Komsomol in the 10th grade indicates the genuine interest that young people have in gaining additional opportunity to enter a higher educational institution. And the desire to get into Komsomol activities is motivated to a considerable extent by plans for an "adult" career. To go overseas, to go on to graduate study—these are options, there is no denying it, that call for a Komsomol card. There is therefore interest, and it is considerable. And it is clearly present in the hidden motives and incentives that cause people to enter the Komsomol. But does this mean that there is interest in the organization? Are these the people who will strengthen the Komsomol? The trust that was talked about at the plenum is bound up with other motivating factors: a sense of justice, unrelated to corporate considerations and to the possibility of more fully realizing one's self; the support one can receive venturing into a new endeavor, and the joy of associating with people who are creative, brave, and rich in spiritual values; as well as confidence in the fact that people who are slack in spirit or impoverished intellectually will be unable to gain positions of leadership.

Such trust was destroyed over the years and it will not revive with the very first successes of the organization. And how many "initial successes" have been noted in official documents, speeches, and articles. How many times have young people been assured of the organization's strength, its monolithic unity, and its "readiness for new achievements." Yet a young person, looking around him, has been able to discern something else around him that has nothing in common with the appearance that the Komsomol presents for show purposes.

It must be understood that restructuring is not simply another in a series of campaigns, and that the situation is, in fact, not simple at all, but a time of great responsibility. It is a situation that is complex and fraught with ambiguity. Readers of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA only recently had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with an experiment in restructuring that took place in a Komsomol organization located in a city on the Volga. Here, a good deal is going on that is surprising, innovative, and of interest to a variety of young people. But what of it? Even here membership has continued to go down. There is no reason to fear this decline. In order to gain strength, trust requires time.

The problem today is not to swell the ranks of the Komsomol but rather to consolidate them. What lies in store for the league in the future depends more than anything else on the kind of platform that will serve as a basis for uniting these millions of young people—that is, on the extent to which the organization is real, not illusory.

Let us take the example of Cuba. Twenty percent of the youth of the country are in the Cuban Communist Youth League (CCYL). Who is to say that it is less capable of functioning than leagues of other countries containing up to 80 percent and more of the young people? The whole point is that the CCYL constitutes a special part of the youth movement in Cuba. It operates within mass youth organizations and movements through its members, guiding them in such a way as to have a decisive influence on young people as a whole. Through this mechanism it achieves its established objectives.

Or take the example of Hungary. The Hungarian Communist Youth League (HCYL), comprising 37 percent of young people, makes no secret of the difficulties it has had in developing. The attitude of many of the young people towards it has been negative or indifferent. But the HCYL seeks to establish ties with other youth groups and, through them, moves slowly forward, not without losses and very slowly, winning over to its side all the young people who are capable of further growth. The Hungarian Komsomol is not castigating itself for being a thin stratum of society. On the contrary, it declared from the rostrum of the 11th HCYL Congress (1986): "We constitute one youth organization, but we have no wish to be the sole organization in the youth movement. Such a slogan would presuppose political maturity."

Of course, these are no more than illustrations of fraternal youth leagues. We have different conditions and potentialities. But the combined experience of the youth movement in the other socialist countries should be given close attention. For the present the experience of the fraternal leagues remains for the most part little known to our Komsomol organizations.

Meanwhile, this experience contains quite a lot of information for consideration with regard to the criteria of Komsomol work and the form and style of its activities.

Criteria, form, and style of activity, according to all indications, are the factors that will determine the restructuring of the Komsomol. On them will depend the extent of membership. We therefore await the opinion of you, the reader. And, believe me, this is not merely a polite gesture. We must think this matter through together.

12889

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Urges Open Discussion of Law on Access to State Archives
18000267 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 2

[Letter from R. Khan-Pira, candidate of philological sciences, senior research assistant at an All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the study of documents and archival affairs: "The Law Is Being Prepared in Secret?"]

[Text] It has become known that the USSR Council of Ministers' Main Archives Administration has prepared a draft law on a USSR State Archive Fund. The draft law is already in circulation among various authorities. Somehow, however, this is all taking place quietly, in secret.

It is not difficult to understand that this law on a USSR State Archive Fund will determine the rights of all historians and researchers in the fields of science, literature, art, and linguistics. The law will either give or deny access to sources to writers dealing with history, whether distant or more recent.

The USSR State Archive Fund is to be a complete collection of all the important archival documents belonging to the Soviet state. It will include not only valuable documents located in state and so-called departmental archives (for example, in the Archive of the USSR Academy of Sciences), but also documents preserved in the manuscripts departments of libraries and museums. These documents are also important, they are also archival, and they also belong to the Soviet state.

In foreign countries there is, as a rule, a legally established period of time upon the expiration of which all archival documents are declassified. In some states this period lasts for 30 years, in others, for 50. In our country no such period of time has been determined. This was understandable when our socialist state had been in existence for no more than 30 or 50 years, but how can it be explained now that we have passed the age of 70? Isn't it time for such a period of limitations to be legally established? Isn't it time for the issue of open access to archival documents to be given a firm, clear basis in law?

TaSSR Republic Meeting on Serious Problems in Vocational Education
18300180 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA
in Russian 5 Mar 88 p 3

[TadzhikTA report: "Solving the Problems of the Day"]

[Text] "Is the vocational-technical school a crucible for forming cadres, or just an establishment solving the problem of youth employment?" This was the question discussed at a meeting between representatives of pedagogical collectives of the republic's vocational education system and TaSSR CP Central Committee Secretary G. G. Veselkov. This business-like discussion was a special prologue to the upcoming Ninth Plenum of the TaSSR CP Central Committee when questions of restructuring in education will be considered.

It was noted that because many of the provisions of the bogged-down school reforms are not connected with real conditions, they have engendered some contradictions. The participants observed that the quota for graduating students is growing despite a serious problem in finding them jobs. As a result schools are overfilled and classes are being conducted in two shifts. The effectiveness of the academic process is reduced. The meeting also discussed the extreme inadequacy of school supplies and of antiquated, run-down equipment.

Much attention at the meeting was given to the problems of a clear division between the functions of the school and the vocational-technical school, the training of masters in production-related teaching, and developing bilingual capabilities.

Illegal Foreign Videos Impact Negatively on Youth

18110053 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 12 February 1988 carries on page 4 a 950-word letter from Cherkassy Oblast Public Prosecutor A. Kotsyurba pertaining to illegal video trafficking in the oblast. In her letter the prosecutor cites the cases of two "videobusinessmen" who had recently been sentenced. These men had apparently obtained "vile" foreign videos like "First Blood," "Children on the Edge of the Graveyard," "Vampires," "Sex in the USA," "Death Maiden," etc. and were showing these videos to the public for a fee.

Kotsyurba complains that even though one of these "videobusinessmen" was well known in the city of Uman, neither cultural workers nor city officials bothered to investigate his activities. Moreover, some of these same people considered it "prestigious" to attend these video showings.

Kotsyurba feels that this type of video showing negatively influences the behavior of young people. She specifically cites the presence of very young prostitutes in Uman: "16- to 17 year-old schoolgirls who consider virginity to be old-fashioned and who are brazenly self-assured that their indifference to the consequences of their behavior will somehow protect their classmates from AIDS in case of intimate contact." The prosecutor also implicates cultural and Komsomol workers for fulfilling their obligations to youth in a mechanical, perfunctory manner and failing to maintain high cultural standards.

Ethnic Azerbaijanis Reported Returning to Homes, Jobs in Armenia

18300185 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 8 Mar 88 p 3

[ARMENPRESS report entitled "Boycott Rumors! They Are Returning to Their Homes"]

[Text] Gugark—In recent days a number of Azerbaijani workers from the Sovkhoz imeni Shaumyan hastened to take their children out of the republic, and then returned home to continue working. Now they are bringing their children back home.

"I don't think that my fellow Azerbaijanis had any reason at all to be alarmed," said sovkhoz canning plant employee Shafigan Zamanova. "I myself am the mother of four children, but at this disturbing time I have not abandoned my home. My Armenian neighbors, with whom I have been working many years, are our friends, and they have never done, nor would we expect them to do, anything bad to us. That's why when we learned that a few milkmaids had left the village, my friends Gyulnara Rakhimova and Fatma Abbasova, along with myself and others, hurried to take their places. We went to the farm and organized the milking of the cows."

There are 221 Azerbaijani families in the village, and they share the warmest of relations with the Armenians.

Kafan—Recently 80 Azerbaijanis returned to Kafan. They are inhabitants of the rayon who had left for various settlements in Azerbaijan. Upon their return, they were met by relatives, Armenian friends and local officials.

Gekhi is a village in which the majority of the inhabitants are Azerbaijani. Dozens of people had left from here, too. Here is what B. Tariverdiyev, chairman of the Gekhi rural soviet ispolkom, has to say on the subject: "I have an international family. Although my wife is Russian, I am an Azerbaijani who studied Armenian in school. That's why we, along with our seven children who have attended high school and college, speak three languages. I have known since childhood of the age-long friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. It continues even now. My Armenian friends attended the weddings of my children, and they in turn invite me to their own weddings."

The Azerbaijanis who were alarmed by the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and left of their own free will were, for the most part, from Kafan and the villages of Zeyva, Musalam and Gekhi. Here is what one of them, railroad line worker Ismail Ismailov, had to say upon his return to work: "It's bad enough that I myself acted rashly, but I also took my children to Zangelanskiy Rayon. No one threatened me and no one coerced me. Now I regret what I did."

Estonian MVD Minister on Demonstrations, Stalin Victims

18000251 Tallinn SOVetskaya ESTONIYA in Russian 31 Jan 88 p 6

[Interview with Marko Tiba, Estonian SSR minister of internal affairs, on "Forum" television program; first five paragraphs are unattributed source introduction; place and date of interview not given.]

[Text] During a regular broadcast of Estonian Television's "Forum" program, Marko Tiba, the republic's minister of internal affairs, answered television viewers' questions.

At the request of our readers who do not know Estonian, today we are presenting the most important questions and the answers to them. The program itself, as is known, was live and lasted about 90 minutes, so the account of it in the newspaper, naturally, is rather condensed.

In his introductory remarks the minister gave a brief survey of the present-day state of affairs and the changes associated with the processes of renewal in the department under his charge, and he also told about a new and more progressive approach to the statistical data that is at the militia's disposal. Evidently there is no need to dwell in more detail on that, since our readers have already noted that the newspaper has started to regularly carry militia summaries of incidents.

Further, a whole series of letters and phone calls dealt with the issue of home distilling and the campaign against it. It was also asked whether the home brewing of wine is not a violation of the decree, and how one can draw the line here between what is permitted and what is not. The answer was as follows: the total number of citizens who illegally produce strong alcoholic beverages has not been established, but lately there has been a tendency for this number to increase. Whereas several years ago from 20 to 25 cases a year were uncovered, charges were brought against 157 people in 1986 and 99 in 1987. Militia agencies believe that the campaign against home distillers and drunkenness as a whole would be more effective if the public at large would move from passive disapproval to the active rejection of these negative phenomena. Now, as regards homemade fruit and berry wine. Under natural fermentation, it turns out to be no stronger than 18 percent alcohol. And that is the limit of what is permitted.

Television viewers have repeatedly asked whether the defilers of the graves of Soviet soldiers at the Ropka Cemetery in Tartu have been found. Viewers Lepp, Kask, Ernits, Ermel and many others, especially residents of Tartu, expressed immense indignation in condemning this incident as an act of vandalism that insults not only general human feelings but national feelings, as

well, since it took place on the territory of their native Estonia and might be regarded by some people, if only through careless thinking, as a manifestation of nationalism.

Answer: The guilty parties have not yet been found; a criminal investigation has been opened, and work is continuing. However, it is already clear that, in order to avoid the repetition of impermissible actions at burial sites, it is necessary to give more attention to the standards with which cemeteries are maintained. This is a task, first and foremost, for the local soviets, although the militia does not relieve itself of responsibility, either.

Question: At the previous "Forum" Comrade Todeson, the minister of trade, in answering a question regarding the opening of second-hand goods markets, referred to the fact that their opening is being held up because of the militia's disapproving attitude toward them.

Answer: No one in the Ministry of Internal Affairs has dealt with this issue yet, and if it is dealt with, the answer will be positive. The militia has no objections.

Question: The public is disturbed by a series of fires that have sprung up in recent years at cultural facilities. There are rumors that the fires are not accidental.

Answer: In 1965 there was a fire in the main building of Tartu State University. A brigade of specialists in criminal investigation worked in cooperation with university scholars. The cause of the fire was found to be electrical wiring under the floor of the assembly hall. In 1982 there was a fire in the Niguliste Church. The cause of the fire has not been established. In 1983 the Theater of Drama imini V. Kingsepp caught fire at a time when repairs were being completed. The reason was the failure to turn off a powerful lamp for the night. Three persons were punished. In 1984 a house in the open-air museum at Rokkaal-Mare burned down. It was determined that the blame lay with a group of teenagers who were "partying" in the museum grounds and started a bonfire there. We have a description of those youngsters, and we have footprints. However, we have not been able to find and arrest them. In 1986 there was a fire in the Estonian Agricultural Museum. It was caused by thieves who had broken in there. Unfortunately, we have not been able to arrest them. There are no grounds for supposing that in all these cases there was a single group, acting purposefully. On the whole, it should be noted that cultural facilities in the republic frequently lack real proprietary supervision, and a great deal of disorder is permitted at them.

Question: Why are by no means all militia officers bilingual?

Answer: Without taking time off from their regular duty, 290 employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are presently studying in language courses. We believe that the question of bilingualism in our system will be resolved in the near future.

Question: Special permission is required in the republic in order to hold rallies and demonstrations organized by informal associations. But people remember that in bourgeois Estonia everyone had freedom of speech and could say what he wanted and speak where he wanted.

Answer: The esteemed television viewer evidently is relying on unverified information. Here are some excerpts from an archival document, the compilation of laws from the time of the bourgeois republic. Article 395, which is titled "Law on Meetings," states, in particular, that meetings cannot be held within a distance of less than a half kilometer from buildings housing the most important state institutions, or the homes of members of the government, high military officers and foreign diplomats; and that students do not have the right to take part in meetings without the written permission of the school administration, and that persons under 18 years of age must have in their possession an appropriate document from the police. At meetings, statements are categorically prohibited that affect the honor of the state and the people and belittle or reject the role of state agencies and the existing state system, that interfere with normal relations with foreign countries and governments, that foster the development of enmity among various strata of the population, or that offend morality and local traditions or the good name of a specific person. The government had the right to forbid the holding of meetings of a political nature. Permission to hold meetings was issued by the police prefect, a police officer present at them had the right to terminate a meeting, etc., etc.

Certain rules for the holding of meetings and rallies exist in every civilized state.

Question: How does the Ministry of Internal Affairs look on the idea of erecting a monument in Tallin to the victims of Stalinism, with which an initiative group headed by Tartu resident Lagle Parek is concerning itself?

Answer: I want to take advantage of the opportunity to cite a number of figures that so far have appeared in the press and in oral accounts and do not always correspond to reality, especially as regards people deported out in 1941 and 1949.

I shall remind you that those deported included both Estonians and Russians, Jews and Poles—large landowners, anti-Soviet elements, White Guard officers, officers of the secret police, etc.

There were, very regrettably, also people who suffered innocently.

In 1941 5,978 people were deported from the territory, and in 1949 20,660 persons, or 7,553 families, were deported.

I shall remind you that 946 Soviet activists were murdered in the summer of 1941. Not without the help of local accomplices, in the first weeks of the fascist occupation 41,135 persons were arrested, and 7,537 of them perished.

Many war criminals received the punishment they deserved, but in the eyes of the aforementioned initiative group they are also the victims of Stalin-era repressions. Can there be any talk here of a common monument?

Question: How often do executives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs make local visits and meet with rank-and-file officers? In your view, do the premises of local

militia divisions always correspond to their purpose? After all, as the theater begins with the cloak room, the Ministry of Internal Affairs begins with the duty room in the ordinary division.

Answer: If our divisions were visited exclusively by the theatergoing public, they would, I agree, look considerably better. But on the whole you are right. Our premises are still often far from the ideal. But we pay local visits fairly often. I am glad to note that trips and conversations of that sort are producing increasing benefits. Our officers are becoming increasingly active, aggressive and exacting, if you will. That is all to the good.

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